SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY

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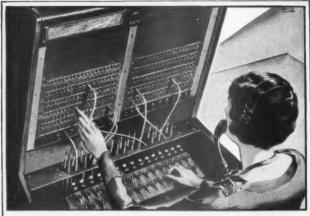
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South Atlantic Quarterly

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OCTOBER, 1929

Number 4

STEPPING STONES TOWARD INDUSTRIAL STABILITY

HOWARD DOUGLAS DOZIER Silver Spring, Md.

Modern Machine Production, the giant offspring of natural science, uses the hydraulic ram rather rigorously. Consumption, the mere ward of social science, has begun to use the siphon, albeit somewhat silently. Industrial equilibration, synchronization, and stabilization should evolve as the drawing power of Consumption becomes strong enough to appropriate the driving power of Production and dull its thud.

Ι

Gradually industry's stumbling blocks are becoming its stepping stones. From the dawn of time till the recent past most of the human race has gone underfed, underclothed, and undersheltered. Periods of want, when men were hounds, have followed periods of plenty when they were hogs. The race has been underfed, underclothed, and undersheltered because it could not produce, with the equipment at hand, enough food to go around and enough clothing and shelter for all. The scientific knowledge accumulated from the beginning of time, applied within a single century, has all but solved the problem of plenty.

At a keymen's dinner in New York, a few months ago, in honor of seven pioneers in industry, Mr. Charles M. Schwab, speaking for the guests, expressed their great debt to research in the natural sciences. "But," said he, "there can be no doubt that whereas there has been extraordinary development in the production and distribution of goods, conveniences

is lightest.

and natural ideas, we have not yet made the same progress in human engineering."

Natural science has placed in the hands of men knowledge wherewith they have been able to provide themselves, in succession, with adequacy, abundance, and superfluity. What else could be expected of a poverty-stricken race suddenly possessed of power, than that it should create as much as it could as fast as it could and trust that in some way necessities, comforts, and luxuries could be made to percolate, and to permeate, the whole of society?

The potential output of factory-made goods is as predictable and calculable as the result of applying mathematical, physical, and chemical formulae. Not a fly wheel turns, not a blast blows, not a building rises that does not conform to some law of natural science. Production is mainly a matter of physics, chemistry, and mechanics. Moreover, the instruments and standards of production are precise, its wheels plumb, its units of measure constant. Technologists, the high priests of production, do not guess. They give their unit of measure a temperature bath before they use it. They do not tolerate a standard of measure equal to an inch one day, to an ell the next. They handle their standards of weight with tongs. Error would result from using their small standard-of-weight cylinders one upon the other. The one farthest from the earth

Natural science has brought industry to the point where scarcity has ceased to be of general concern and plenty has become a political issue. If the well-being of the human race now depended solely upon its power to produce, the economic millenium would have arrived. But calculable production has, by and large, been aimless and planless because of the difficulty of coördinating it with incalculable, unpredictable, and unstable consumption.

Before we approach the goal of maximum social enjoyment and maximum cultural opportunity, we shall have to approach that efficiency in planning consumption which we have already attained in planning production. Distribution of goods for consumption is a problem in human engineering. The human engineer, whether he be a professional economist or an amateur, whether he be actively engaged in industry, or in economic or industrial research, can hardly hope to work with the same precision as does the natural scientist. The tools and instruments of the human engineer are not altogether plumb or true. He has had to muddle along with a standard of value worth as much as a hat one day, a horse or a house the next. Moreover, the natural scientist by one signal success may convert more unbelievers in a day than an economist or other social scientist may convince in a decade by an equally important, if less evident, economic or social discovery.

II

Spite of all his handicaps, the human engineer is making progress. A casual reading of the economic literature of the past two decades shows clearly that he has been thinking, in the main, on the problem of stabilization. Banking legislation looking to this end has been passed. Proposals to stabilize the purchasing power of money are no longer considered impracticable schemes of theoretical economists. The problem of railroad consolidation may eventually turn upon the point that railroads can be converted from sporadic users into constant consumers. Now comes the significant suggestion of establishing a three-billion-dollar reserve fund for the stabilization of employment. The purpose of it all is to strengthen the drawing power of consumption without weakening the driving power of production.

Modern industry is groping for a predictable consumption such as prevailed during the handicraft stage of industrial development. Then consumers placed their orders for goods and instruments and producers filled them. There could be no overproduction when producers counted their orders, but due to increased efficiency production ceased to accommodate itself to consumption. Mass production in a machine age reversed the natural sequence and unstable equilibrium resulted. Production, no longer the handmaid of consumption,

became the mistress.

However, the normal order seems to be in the process of restoration. Consumption is beginning to place its orders for the use of instruments and pay for the service as it is rendered, just as formerly it placed its orders for goods and instruments and paid for them when they were delivered.

This is being accomplished partially through installment buying. We are still afraid of this method of doing business, but there is really nothing new or strange about it. The "critter" is shying a little at his keeper in a gaudy garb. We are merely paying cash for the services we get as we get them.

During the World War we developed a plant capacity sufficient to produce what we consumed and what we and others destroyed. When the war was over many who had been making firearms, which they had been able to sell, turned to making fishing rods, which they hoped to sell. Production overwhelmed consumption, prices broke, the crash came.

The results of the many years' study of the social scientists and of the work of the practically minded human engineers have since begun to show themselves in a marked degree. We are enjoying a period of prosperity and stability in business and industry which has already lasted longer than any other since the advent of modern machine production. A continuation of this prosperity depends upon the success we have in our conscious efforts to augment the drawing power of consumption, without unconsciously diminishing the driving power of production.

III

Of the many groups outside of industry which have been at work upon the problem of stabilization, some have made diagnoses and others have sought cures. Within industry itself many groups have been meeting their peculiar problems as they have arisen. Some of the expedients tried have proved to be of value and have become permanent business policies.

One of these groups attributes periodical breakdowns in industry to savings and the necessity of saving. Both individuals and corporations must save. That part of corporate earnings retained in industry and that part of individual sav-

ings reinvested in plants and equipment producing goods and services, enlarges productive capacity and increases the supply of goods and services already offered for sale. The simultaneous reduction in the amount of the social income spendable for current consumption, by the amount saved, breaks prices. Business, which was flourishing, flounders and fails.

If this be true, then one virtue, at least, is without its own reward.

Now, if saving and savings, individual and corporate, are the real causes of periodical business breakdowns and unemployment, and if savings must continue to expand an equipment already over-expanded, then of all men we are the most miserable, for we can not be at ease in Zion while there is no balm in Gilead.

That saving must continue no one doubts, but that savings must, can, or always will be devoted to expanding an over-expanded, partially idle and partially unprofitable plant, only the rash will claim. The real object of most saving lies in the future. Much of what we save is intended for posterity and directed to those immaterials now produced without prospect or intention of profit. Once convinced that the best way to get what it saves for is to devote its savings to producing it, society will find a way of rendering unto the future the funds that are the future's, and unto the present the funds that are the present's.

Enlightened public opinion may come to support savings institutions which devote more of society's savings against sickness to the production of that which cares for sickness. It may develop insurance companies which will devote some of the premiums designed by policy holders for education, to the direct production of education. The solution lies not in less saving, but in better directed savings. If it finally turns out that saving as now practiced thwarts the object of the savings, industrial evolution will find a way out.

Others who attribute periodicity in industry to fluctuation in the purchasing power of money have advocated legislation that would define by law the standard of value in terms of constant purchasing power and a varying weight of gold. Price stabilization, they believe, will do away with alternate periods of rising prices, profits and speculation, and falling

prices, losses, deflation and unemployment.

Distraught industry, however, can not wait forever upon abstract economic reasoning, however sound, or upon legislation directed toward relief, even though it believes in the soundness of the theory or the practicability of the program proposed.

In its frantic attempt after 1920, industry sought shelter under a new scheme based upon the old truth, always preached, seldom practiced—that an honest man with a job is a good risk. Business abandoned this dictum as a platitude and adopted it as a working plan. It extended credit on the basis

of character, and willingness and ability to produce.

Indebtedness for production's sake has long been the badge of prosperity. Production has prospered as it got into debt and kept in. But in its rôle as consumer, society at large was thought until recently to prosper only as it got out of debt and kept out. Production trying to get into debt and keep in, and consumption trying to get out and keep out, have not made very good yokefellows for drawing the same industrial load.

Consumers can now put up their willingness and ability to produce and pay as collateral wherewith to buy and pay for what they need and want. In buying and paying for what they need and want, they create opportunities for the productive employment of their own potential productive capacity. are coining their perishable ability to produce and their character into current purchasing power, a consumer-currency acceptable to those who make and sell. Consumer-credit thus created draws goods off the market, while producer-credit. created through commercial loans, drives them on the market. When producers and distributors begin to extend credit to one honest man with a job in order that he may pay for his rides by the month, they soon begin to make loans to another equally honest and busy worker in order that he may pay for his walks by the week. A busy man who drives to work in a car is less extravagant than an idle one who wears out shoe leather in hunting for a job.

Bankers are beginning to appropriate what producers and distributors have learned. Money can now be had on installments. Thus consumer-credit grows. This method of financing increases consumption's draw without decreasing production's drive.

IV

So successful has this method of financing consumption proved that there are those who advocate its extension to those intangibles for which men strive and save. Should it prove equally workable in this field, a solution to the seeming economic paradox of saving may be found. The demand for the products of institutions heretofore the objects of charity and of philanthrophy may so increase that they may become self-

supporting or profitable.

Why not all be sick or become educated thus? In the long run, it really makes little difference to a hospital whether it collects for its services in large amounts from its few patients already sick, or in small amounts from its many already well. That portion of the income of an endowed college derived from tuition fees would not vary greatly in the end whether collected in large amounts from its fewer students in their temporary unproductive ignorance, or in small amounts from its more numerous alumni in their permanent productive wisdom. A college with a few thousand alumni paying for their education as they use it would have the equivalent of a considerable endowment.

Even though consumer-credit may eventually establish itself in financing the objects of saving and solve in part the paradox of savings, provision against unpreventable misfortune will still continue, but the necessity of hoarding against unemployment resulting from instability, and the unproductive consumption of the hoard during enforced idleness, should grow less as the chances of unemployment grow fewer.

The poor, the halt, the lame, the blind, also widows, orphans and students, we shall have always with us, but even they stand a better chance of health, happiness, husbands, and tuition if unassisted in their unproductiveness by a host of others

unemployed. To the extent that consumer-credit can increase consumption and raise the standard of living, and to the extent it can set idle men to work and keep them regularly employed when they have a will to work, to that extent, at least, here and now, men may take a little less thought for the morrow and give a little more consideration to the lilies of the field. Consumer-credit has already attained respectability; it may yet achieve orthodoxy.

V

If all these forces, and others scarcely less important, should increase consumption's draw without diminishing production's drive, that freedom from toil heretofore defined as unemployment may hereafter be redefined as leisure. Such freedom, the result of success in human engineering, may come more and more to be planned leisure and not enforced idleness. Men may come to bless leisure because they ask for it and receive it, not curse unemployment because it is forced upon them. Leisure has its rewards no less than labor.

Training for leisure will go alongside training for work. Education for leisure will be as important as training for work. The immaterial products of leisure will be held in as high esteem as the material products of labor. Technical schools will not be known by the number of bond salesmen they turn out, nor colleges of liberal arts by the lack of culture they produce.

Even now there seems to be a tendency on the part of those engaged in industry to give themselves more and more to the uses of leisure. Not all the telephone conversations one hears in business offices relate to business. An official in one of the largest public utilities in the Middle West finds that his business runs so smoothly that it is "no longer interesting." He can predict the consumption of his output with substantial exactness. He has the leisure to devote himself to the study of economics and is an authority in one important field.

College attendance has increased twenty-five per cent in the last five years. The popularity of cultural courses grows apace. Recently I have had opportunity to ask many of my former students how they would shape their courses if they

were doing their college work again. The tenor of many of the answers is the same. This frank and altogether friendly reply I got in Denver.

"I would play football the first half of the year and study the second. I would take more philosophy, literature, art, and music, and less of your damned economics. What I need is

something that I can use outside of this office."

In spite of football, the dead languages may yet live. We may have to travel far and travel long before we "touch those Happy Isles and see the great Achilles whom we knew." But under a stabilized industrial condition wherein consumption's maximum draw tends to appropriate production's maximum drive, we may come to covet earnestly and enjoy for ourselves those best gifts which even now we covet so earnestly for our children.

If we do succeed in attaining an efficiency in consumption comparable to that already attained in production, if we do succeed in redefining unemployment in terms of leisure, we may yet enjoy quality consumption without decreasing quantity production. We may see the advent of art; we may see statecraft a profession with more practitioners; we may see more dedication to the common good. We may come to hold a public official who saves a million dollars in expending funds and passes the savings on to his fellow citizens in the form of better public buildings, better schools, better roads, and a better cultural life, in as high esteem as we do the private official who saves a million dollars and passes it on to his stockholders in the form of dividend checks. We may come to consider the art of living of as much importance as the art of laboring.

After all, what in life is more worth while than the sheer joy of living it?

Who will attend the next fiftieth annual keymen's dinner?

RURAL STANDARDS OF LIVING

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN U. S. Department of Agriculture

STANDARD of living studies among city dwellers have been watched with equanimity and interest for many years. Now that investigators are beginning to make such studies of farm families, many of us among the rural-born laity pause and think. We feel like making some restraining gesture until we shall have ascertained just how these studies are to be made, just how the results are to be interpreted, and just what kind of advice or readjustment plans are to be built on them.

To a very limited extent only can the methods and interpretations that have served for city families be used successfully with families on the farms. So far as actual income and expenditure go, the same methods will probably suffice, but when it comes to dealing with all those intangible and psychological factors that go to make up a satisfactory standard of home life, we who grew up in them feel rather strongly that the measures for farm homes should be rather different from those used in measuring satisfactions in the towns.

Fortunately, we have among our professional investigators a few who are fully alive to the fact that the term "standard of living" has never yet been accurately defined to the satisfaction of all students, and that a device for measurement which satisfies all students has not yet been found. Perhaps a series of measurements including different kinds for the tangibles and the intangibles will be one of the solutions. Even then it is not likely that entire agreement and exact methods of measurement and evaluation will be reached, for we do seem to have at least tacit agreement that the element which makes life really worth living is usually something too illusive to isolate or to name.

Just how far farm income and expenditure help toward securing the psychic satisfaction—the mental and psychological atmosphere of home—is debatable, and will always vary as between families. The ability to realize or achieve it sometimes seems to be a quality or ability inherent in the family, or in certain individuals in the family, more or less regardless of income or expenditure.

For the present, expenditure is rather generally recognized as the best single measure of standard of living we have yet devised and the closer this expenditure is analyzed the more satisfactory it is as a measure. Particularly is this true in the case of the analysis of that part of the family expenditure that goes for items other than the necessities of food, shelter, and clothing. These other expenditures, which in earlier studies were often classed as sundries or miscellaneous, are the items that vary most as incomes increase or decrease. The objectives of these expenditures and the proportioning of funds among them are often significant indications of standards of living. In recent studies these expenditures for the intangibles and for the more minor items are given more discriminating attention than was usual in earlier days.

By those who are fully aware of the significance of the quality in home life which we usually designate as atmosphere. the standard of living studies that are based chiefly on expenditure, or even on income and expenditure, will be regarded as foundation studies only. As such they are of undoubted value and are welcomed by all who have rural welfare at heart. Before any discussions of any subject, no matter how abstruse, can be constructive, certain basic facts must be known and reckoned with. Until recently we have not actually known what was spent by the average farm family in the average farming community of a fair number of states during the course of a year. Much less did we know about how it was spent or for what. Now that the Department of Agriculture has given us the figures, closely analyzed, we are in a better position to go into the more debatable realms. But, thoughtful studies though they may be, the investigators are not yet venturing far therein. Carefully they are feeling out the ground step by step. Not content with knowing the basic figures for the average farm family, they are now busy on similar studies of farm families in sub-marginal districtsof farm families at the very bottom of agriculture. Farm families of exceptionally large incomes, in exceptionally favored localities, will probably come in for attention before our economic basis for the more social phases of the study is complete.

Another important phase of the economic basis is the relation of expenditure to income. This is a many-sided feature, the adequate study of which requires men and women of different kinds of training and outlook. The complex nature of the question and the coöperation necessary to secure the facts and to work out the analysis naturally retard the rate of progress, but work toward definite knowledge regarding this relationship in farm families and farm communities is now going forward.

For, contrary to the usual opinion, it cannot be taken for granted that increased farm earnings mean higher standards of living. Many economists and many lay observers believe that traditional habits, education, and general intelligence are as large a factor as earnings in deciding how well farm families shall live. There are many examples that seem to show that the tendency among farmers, as their income grows, is to buy more land, build larger barns, and increase their farm equipment, rather than spend the additional money for family comforts and pleasures. But most of us are relieved and not surprised to find that the preliminary studies apparently establish the fact that a fairly close relation does exist between the farm income and the farm standard of living. As among wage earners, when farm incomes increase, the families begin to spend a larger proportion, according to these studies, for purposes other than the necessities of food and rent. More is spent for non-material values, like education, recreation, books and magazines, travel, and church and philanthropic subscriptions.

The question naturally arises, "How permanent are these standards of farm living if they are based on increased income only?" It is the belief of many economists that only when an increased income is used to improve the conditions of everyday life and work on the farm, that such increase can be

counted upon to continue as a permanent addition to the farmer's income, and hence is a safe basis for an improved standard of living. They point out that unless farmers insist upon holding tenaciously to a satisfactory standard of living, once it is attained, that standard will shift and fluctuate with the fluctuations of farmers' incomes: and so long as farmers compete with each other on the basis of an unsatisfactory standard of living, they cannot hope for a permanently enlarged share of agriculture in the national income. Higher land values and cheaper prices for farm products will absorb it. They must decide definitely as to the number and character of the advantages upon which they must insist if they are to continue to farm, and they must adhere to this decision. This argument does not seem to take into consideration those exceptional families whose inherent abilities and personal aspirations will maintain a certain desirable atmosphere or "standard," regardless of how low the actual cash income falls. But it is probably applicable to farmers as a group, and those exceptional families are probably the very ones who could be most effective in their communities in helping to demand conditions that make generally possible a satisfactory standard of life.

Based on this reasoning of the necessity for insistence on satisfactory standards, the relationship that investigators seem to detect between farm income and farm standard of living is encouraging. It indicates that farmers in general are tending in the right direction, and that an increased share in the national income would mean improved standards of farm life. On such reasoning it is, to a considerable degree, apparently up to the farmers as a group to make permanent any satisfactory standard of living that they are once able to establish.

So far, so good. As long as we stay this near to the economics of the question, we are on fairly safe ground. But the thoroughly interested student is not going to be content to limit his work to this safe and measurable territory. He is ever tempted by, and probably eventually must examine, that illusive phase of the standard of life which, to some of us,

counts for much more than money income or money expenditure.

This is where our layman's reluctance comes into play. Are we ready yet to go into those realms? Just what is the magic combination of delicately adjusted social antennae, of infallible sense of real values, and of mystic mastery of words, which will make it possible for us to detect, measure, evaluate, and reduce to terms these precious imponderables? And who among us will possess this vital combination, once its adhering abilities are decided upon?

As yet the tentative entries into this phase of the subject have been made with due caution, and as yet but little interpretation of the facts disclosed has been attempted. One or two studies have included the important item of leisure time. We have the carefully checked disclosure that, in a comprehensive study, little or no relationship was found between the average length of the work day of the homemaker and the "average value of goods used in a year." Apparently, the heads of the families "using more goods" do not find the corresponding leisure to enjoy the satisfactions that these things might bring, for the average working day was eleven hours out of the waking thirteen. This gives pause to those who are inclined to believe that improvement in methods and machinery is setting free much time that was previously given to farm production and farm housework. It would seem to indicate that increased production has been the more evident result. But along with this realization should go the more intimate one, that this business of farming and home-making is, usually, a joint family enterprise. Some farmers' wives who put in eleven hours a day are comparable to the business woman who owns her own business or is one of a partnership owning the business. Such owners or partners expect to devote many more hours to their work than they would if they were employed on a salary basis. They are more interested in it than in anything else, and often they regret any diversion that takes them long away.

This economic solidarity of the farm family is among the inherent factors that serve to differentiate farm family con-

ditions from those of the city family. And because of its social implications, in a more closely knit family life, it is frequently one of the greatest satisfactions of the farm householders. The farm and the farm home constitute one economic unit. Not only is much of the food produced on the farm, but frequently the farm wife and the farm children have joyfully aided to produce it with no consciousness of the mooted questions of woman and child labor. The thrifty farm flocks, whether of chickens or turkeys, or even of sheep, are often the playmates of the family. They add materially to the family resources both in money and in food, but they frequently have cost the head of the family little in either planning or labor. This is a type of family coöperation of which the harassed money-maker of the city family usually knows nothing.

In fact, the farm and the farm home constitute a coöperative enterprise in which is found a blend of work and home atmosphere which is not inherent in any other business. At its best it suggests to the discerning a sense of solidarity, security, and peace of mind which probably approximates, as does no other business, the state of harmony in which men were

meant to live.

Then when we are considering the amount of leisure time a family has at its disposal, we must also consider how this leisure is spent. This is fundamental to a true determination of the standard. The cotton-chopper who leans five minutes on his hoe for every minute that he chops, is not conscious of having any leisure, and our schedule would show him as working all day in the fields. The one who lolls in the hallway of the log house through the hottest hours of the day might be said to be occupied in idleness rather than possessed of leisure.

And what of those who spend their leisure consciously? Who is to be the judge of whether they spend it wisely or well? By what is he to judge? The day should come again, we fully believe, when a family standard will be judged, not by the number of associations with which its members are affiliated or the number of events and affairs in which it "participates,"

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but by the number of evenings per week the family is satisfied to spend at home, happily occupied with books and pen and needle, with freedom and fireplace and family. Whenever a carefully compiled table of "family participations" greets my eye in our sociological bulletins, which seems to suggest that organization is worth while just for organization's sake and that "going" is worth while just for the sake of going, my mind turns with deep gratitude to memories of long evenings spent under the lamplight or before the fireplace of a quiet country home. Here dwelt with us the characters of all ages and here we knew the experiences of all climes. No club suppers or programs or parties remain in my mind or color my later consciousness or thought as do those long, quiet, uneventful but fruitful evenings of family companionship, discussions, reading, writing, and study.

Such differentiating factors that are not economic and are not usually recognized as having any money value are difficult, indeed, to evaluate. But they play an important part in this sense of harmony with the great forces of life and are usually rated high in any list of advantages of farm life. They must be recognized and reckoned with in the adequate farm standard of living study. Nature and circumstances give to the usual farm family abundance of air, light, space, and shade, and the blessing of quiet nights. In fact, to the worker in the city slum a decade ago it seemed that there could scarcely be a rural social problem. The study of standards in city living must take account of every window in the house, but two windows opening almost against a brick wall and adjacent to several chimneys do not compare with one window thrown wide to unobstructed breezes blowing across a field of many acres. The house in town that has no bathtub and is lighted only by kerosene lamps is either a shanty or a tenement, but, difficult as it may be to believe, in many a fine old spacious country home, set deep in its wide fields and shaded groves, a life of gracious dignity still exists without benefit of faucet or tank, electricity or delco.

In a home like this, redolent with thought, meditation, tradition, and courtesy, of what use is the investigator's bag of

trusted measurements? What is the cost of food compared with the way it is prepared and its flavor, the serving and the surroundings—the spirit of hospitality? The sheens of long-polished mahogany, of ancient damask, of time-worn silver; the glow of mellow candlelight and a few well-chosen flowers; the adumbrations of a courtesy and a culture that no man can measure—these, we maintain, connote a standard of living that few new families and new houses can equal, no matter what the income and the expenditure.

Nor do we need to go to the homes of established tradition to find a depth of satisfactions that cannot be sounded by the plummets of modernity. There are few of us who do not know homes of approximately the same money level in which the difference in standards is very marked. Here we find a home, perhaps only one or two years old, in which the suggestions of background, of traditions-to-be, of daily mental and spiritual life lived within its walls, are so definite as to be almost tangible. There we have a house, long occupied, wherein the restlessness, the shifting ideals, the lack of any mental or spiritual family objective, results in a lack of standard so obvious as to be almost painful.

Does all this mean that standard of living studies should cease when the tangibles of the matter have been charted and evaluated? How is the thorough student to work his way on through the other factors that go to make up the whole? Naturally the laity have no solutions to offer and no criticisms to make of those who are devoting years to this work. We wish but to warn against ready-made methods and judgments, and urge deep thought and careful evaluation. And who knows? Perhaps that essence and fragrance and texture that make up the flower of family life may ultimately survive such analyses by the sociologists as well as our blossoms of field and garden have weathered the dissections of the botanists.

THE AGE OF PERICLES: AN INTERPRETATION

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I SAY that Athens is the school of Hellas and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace."

These words of Pericles represented the ideals of that statesman for the city which he led, and so near to the truth did he come that succeeding ages have looked back upon his life time as a high place in the course of human history. Many and varied have been the attempts to explain the phenomenon of the appearance in one generation and in one small place of such great leaders in all forms of human endeavor. Indubitably false is one of the traditional views, that it was the product of a small leisure class freed from the commonplaces of the daily toil which they despised by the labor of slaves and women. This idea is still so widely held that it is perhaps worth while to survey the scene again and see if, from our modern knowledge of social and economic forces, some explanation more satisfying may not be drawn.

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All the forces, historical and contemporary, that went to make up the Greek world concentrated upon Athens in the Periclean Age. As signalized in the fact that Athena, goddess of the citadel, was their chief divinity, the Athenians had maintained an unbroken connection with Mycenaean times and had preserved along with the Cyclopean walls on the Acropolis the foundation stones of that well-developed civilization, through the Dipylon period, into later ages, albeit the super-structure was much transformed. During the early period of migration which was the result of the Dorian invasion, our sources tell us that Attica was a place of refuge for many fugitives and the central point from which the Ionians moved out to their conquest of the islands and of Asia

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Minor. In the period of relative decadence which followed. Athens remained quiescent and was slower in reawakening to the new life than her neighbors. Then, under the leadership of Solon and Peisistratus, the city instead of expanding its energies on the planting of many colonies as did Megara and Miletus, its superiors in those days, built wisely for the future by opening its doors to and absorbing foreigners from all the world who came bringing skill in their trades with them. Cleisthenes completed the work of absorption when he enrolled all free residents of Attica as citizens in their respective demes. The process was continued by Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles and found expression in the easy conditions imposed upon aliens resident in Athens and reward in the loyalty of these people to the city of their adoption. The aristocracy, themselves far from being a highly inbred class as some have represented them, had their share in bringing in outside influences with their wives, as witness the marriage of Megacles. the Alcmaeonid with Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicvon, her whose namesake and descendant was the mother of Pericles. Cylon married the daughter of Theagenes of Megara; the Peisistratids brought in many Thracian connections: the mother of Thucydides, the historian, was a Thracian; and Pericles, in violation of his own law, espoused the great Aspasia. There must have been much intermarriage with aliens in the lower ranks of society as well. The democracy endeavored, on the advice of Pericles, to protect the purity of its citizenship by the law of 451 which made such marriages illegal and deprived children from them of citizenship rights. That the attempt was not entirely successful is evidenced by the fact that there were many such children (nothoi) in Athens and that they crept into the citizen lists so regularly that later generations deemed it necessary to revise those lists and to pass more stringent regulations. There are many tombstones which bear the names of wives of Athenians born in other cities.

II

The position which Athens occupied at the head of the empire and in control of two of the chief sources of grain supply made her the wholesale market, the center of trade of the Aegean world. This fact attracted to the city merchants from Syria, from Egypt, from the Anatolian hinterland, as well as from the Hellenic world. With them came the intellectual elite of East and West to get their share of the wealth of the city and to enjoy the benefits of its intellectual and artistic leadership.—Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Hippocrates of Cos, Aspasia of Miletus, Anaxagoras and Protagoras from the West, along with many others. Merchants resident in Athens, citizens and metics (resident aliens), penetrated the Black Sea, traded with the caravans which traversed the Urals to the borders of China, as well as with the farmers of Southern Russia and the peoples that produced metals, leather, and other products along its shores. They went overland through Anatolia or by way of Syria to Babylon and into the heart of the Persian empire, where were connections with India. They purchased the products of Egypt and learned something of the lore of that ancient land from guides and priests. They went to the West where Athens had a leading share in the founding of Thurii and had relations with Egesta and the non-Dorian cities of Sicily and southern Italy. Their interests extended to Naples and even to Marseilles, which controlled the rich trade with Gaul and the North. More Athenian vases have been found in Etruria than in Greece itself. From these lands came a multitude of products to the enrichment of life in Athens, and with the goods new ideas and information of all sorts about the Mediterranean world and its hinterland, to the satisfaction of the curiosity of the Athenians and the broadening of their intellectual horizon. The best testimony of this is in the travels of Herodotus and the description in his history of the lands which he visited, written for the delectation of his audience, chiefly Athenian.

Along with the goods of other lands came also the slaves, most of whom came into very close contact on the farms, in the households, and in the small ships with their masters and their masters' families, and brought with them strange ideas and stories and stranger gods.

Athens itself presented an economic cross-section of the Greek world, so that all kinds of influences were brought to bear on the life of the city. The larger land-owners still preferred to live in fine villas on their ancestral estates, the working of which they supervised. On the hillsides were charcoal-burners, foresters, bee-keepers and herdsmen. In the valleys small farmers planted their grain between the rows of olive trees and terraced the hillsides for their vineyards. Nearer the city they devoted themselves to vegetable or flower gardens. Some of them lived in Athens itself, and others went into the city to market their goods. There was never a sharp division between city and country in ancient Athens. cock crow was the universal signal for awakening. In general, slaves were used only on the larger farms, though small farmers might own one or two or hire them for the busy seasons.

In the city and its port town, Peiraeus, men found a wide variety of occupations. Service in the navy and the merchant marine as commanders or navigators, as sailors, mariners or oarsmen, or on one of the many boards of ten that went about the empire to regulate its affairs, carried great numbers to sea, made them expert seamen, and gave them a knowledge of other lands and places. The wholesale and retail trade of Athens with the accompanying businesses of money-changing and money-lending engaged others, singly or in corporations. The pottery, leather-goods, clothing, and metal products of the Athenian shops were in great demand, not only at home but throughout the Mediterranean.

Industry was on a small scale. Some wealthy men might own large shops with as many as 20 or 25 hands, but the average shop must have consisted of the owner, his family, an apprentice or two, and perhaps one or two slaves to do the rougher work. Skilled slaves were in demand and some were enabled to set up their own shops and pay their owners a portion of their earnings. Citizens, aliens, and slaves worked together on the public works, notably the great buildings

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which were being erected at this time. Then there were the contractors who worked the mines with gangs of slaves, whose lot was not as bad as has been painted. Some slaves and a few very poor citizens worked by the day as hired laborers to supply the need for casual labor. In a recent study Miss Sargent has estimated the total slave population as approximately 97,000, out of a total population of 300,000, but that seems to me more than our sources warrant. For the poor or landless, who desired to go, Pericles provided lands in the empire unoccupied or confiscated from the subject states. The man of wealth who had his means invested in mercantile loans, in shops or in slaves for rent, found a plenty to do in the supervision of his properties. The center of these activities was the agora where the farmer sold his produce, the huckster his vegetables, flowers or fish. There, too, the artisan displayed his handicraft and the merchant his goods from other lands; the money-changer, too, set up his table; the business man held his conferences; and the purchaser was bewildered by the efforts of salesmen to attract his attention. This is no picture of a leisure class of citizens despising work, but one of a very busy lot of Greeks engaged in the pleasant tasks of working, bargaining, and making money,-arts which their modern descendants have not lost.

III

Political life was organized not on the basis of supporting a citizen class in idleness, but of making it possible for all to take part in the government. The pay for office was less than a man could earn in business, but enough to make it possible for him to neglect his own affairs for a season to serve the state. The fact that only military officers were eligible for reelection further contributes to the *reductio ad absurdum* of this theory of a state-supported citizen body. Men past working age found in the two obols paid for jury service not a living wage, but a kind of pension from the state.

The range of services which a citizen might be called upon to perform was wide and of high educative value. Attendance upon the assembly, for which no pay was received; office in the deme or tribe, in the Council of Five Hundred, in the magistracies; service as archon, treasurer, or general; membership in the numerous committees of ten appointed for the supervision of domestic and imperial affairs, or on the board of 6,000 jurors; all gave opportunity for political expression. In addition to these, the poor served for pay as oarsmen in the fleet; citizens of average means, as hoplites in the army; the sons of the rich, in the cavalry. The very wealthy were required to devote part of their means and time to the equipment and management of a trireme or to the financing of certain parts of the great festivals.

While Pericles himself so dominated his generation that the measures of the period and the age itself are called by his name, it must not be forgotten that the people had the wisdom to elect him annually, to follow his advice and to ostracize Thucydides, son of Melesias, when the conservatives made their famous attack upon the great leader. Even in the supposedly degenerate days of the Fourth Century, the Athenian assembly was noteworthy for the consistency with which it chose able leaders and then followed their advice. This stability was due in part to the fact, as stated by Professor Ferguson, that there "was an unrivaled facility for great leaders to get into effective contact with the masses under conditions in which there was the fullest opportunity for men in general to use their natural powers to the utmost." In part, it was due to the Athenian concept of law. The laws, not men, governed the state; they were hedged about with numerous safeguards. were hard to change, and the proposer of a measure was held to strict personal responsibility therefor. The larger measures were the product of the natural good sense of the Athenians which they derived from their daily experiences.

IV

Throughout this economic and political life of Athens in the Periclean Age there run three pronounced elements, the social, the religious, and the competitive. Athenian life was intensely social whether the organization was the family, the genos, the phratry, the deme, the tribe, the central organs of

government with their boards of ten, the shop, the guild, the club, the religious brotherhood or the business corporation. The Athenians could never understand the solitary man. The wealthy found delight in their symposia and their clubs; the less fortunate foregathered in the guild or club, at the barbershop or the blacksmith's forge. Socrates was always sure of an audience at the armorer's, the statuary's or the saddler's, where visitors and idlers might be found. Demesmen from the country made their headquarters in the city at some favorite shop where they would meet their friends. Groups were always gathering to talk in the porticoes around the agora, in the palaestra, and at the public baths in which all citizens might participate, the poor, at least, on holidays. Nor were metics excluded from these social activities, as Aspasia's salon indicates and the dialogues of Plato clearly show. Here was every oportunity for social intercourse and for the discussion of every kind of question.

The ladies, far from being shut in at home, visited each other and gossiped in the court yards of their houses or prepared for and took part in their particular religious festivals. We know that many of the Athenians took their wives to the gatherings at Aspasia's house. Women of the lower classes were held in by no restrictions at all but went about doing their work, selling at the booths in the market-places, and participating generally in the workaday world about them. We must assume that the wives and daughters of respectable metics lived as did the Athenian women of the same class. But there were many metic women, as well as some Athenians, who made their living by the brilliance of their minds, the charm of their persons, or their ability as entertainers in the form of hetaerae, and added color, if a trifle red, to this kaleidoscopic life.¹

Penetrating these social activities was the religious element. Every organization had its god or demigod, divinity

^a May I venture to remark paranthetically that in my opinion we have taken for fact, about the Athenian women, what the husbands of that day wished, rather than what was possibly the case, unless the nature of the sex has changed. In the Ajax of Sophocles, Temessa interferes with Ajax and that hero turns grandly and says, "Silence graces woman."—And, nitrabile dictu, Temessa becomes silent. Sophocles was compensating.

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or hero. There were family gods who received their due meed at meals, whenever one left or returned home, and on festal occasions when the slaves joined in the worship. The demes had their local gods and heroes, some of whom rose to prominence in the state. Phratry, genos, and tribe had religious backgrounds. The artisans in the various crafts had divine patrons. On their festivals all the workers in the shop, free and slave, joined in the common meal at the expense of the owner. At the symposium a libation was poured. Statues stood around the palaestra. The school children honored the The metics had religious associations in which they worshipped the divinity of their homeland—Ammon, Sabazios or the Mother of the Gods-and to which, at least in later times, citizens were admitted. The women had their special All young girls participated in the worship of Artemis Brauronia, where chosen ones took the part of bears. Maidens sacrificed to Artemis before their marriage. Married women celebrated the great Thesmophoria in honor of Demeter. Even the hetaerae worshipped Aphrodite.

Then there were the great state celebrations, the Anthesteria—All Souls',—the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, which the Athenians tried to lift to the status of a panhellenic rite, and the festivals of Dionysus, where the dramatic contests were held. Among the many, the most glorious was the Panathenaea, held annually but with special magnificence every fourth year. Amid a series of ceremonies and contests came the great procession when magistrates and priests, maidens bearing the peplos which it had been their pride and joy to weave, knights proud of their youth, their horses and their skill, led the people to the temple of Athena while the gods above looked on and smiled.

In many of these ceremonials the women, the metics, and the slaves took part. For the dramatic performances admission was charged to defray part of the expense but the state advanced to the poor the cost of their ticket that all might join in the worship of Dionysus. These religious festivals were social occasions when men joined in their groups to worship the gods. The culminating point of most of them came

when gods and men sat down together to a common feast at the sacred banquet. In the busy world of Athens such festivals furnished many days when the workmen might turn their time to joy. There were some sixty state holidays and with the local and special feasts there were as many as there are saints' days in modern Greece.

This religious activity was essentially a matter of cult performance, not of dogmatic belief. There were few professional priests. Some were priests by right of family inheritance, some were state officials with priestly as well as other duties, some were chosen by the state for life or for a term. Most of them engaged in their usual occupations save for the period of their festival. Their chief task was to see that the ceremonies were properly performed, not to direct the worshippers what to believe or how to behave. Morals were in the main social or patriotic rather than religious. Men might believe and say what they chose so long as they did not become dangerous to the state through blasphemy or interference with the cult. Even then the people were tolerant. It was only in times of stress that Aspasia was accused of impiety. Anaxagoras was exiled, and Socrates put to death. Some one has remarked that the Athenian people endured Socrates for a very long time, at that.

Again, through all the activities we have traced runs the element of competition—competition in business, within the shop between men of the same craft, in the market-place, and in the wider market wherever Athenian goods traveled; competition at social affairs where the guests vied with each other, as at the famous wedding feast of Agariste; athletic competition in the palaestra and at the games; competition in music—for which Pericles built the Odeon—in choral dancing, in the writing and production of plays; competition before the Athenian law courts to win the decision, in politics to secure public preferment. The trierarch whose trireme was first ready for sea received a prize. Noteworthy service in any respect was apt to receive recognition. For the metic, it might mean the reward of citizenship; for the slave, freedom. Said Pericles: "When a citizen is in any way distinguished he is

preferred to the public service not as a matter of privilege but as a reward of merit." At the greater Dionysia before citizens, metics, allies and all the visitors, those who had deserved well of the state were recognized for their meritorious service and the sons of those fallen in war, upon reaching manhood, were presented with their panoply by the state.

Such competition in all phases of life necessarily contributed to the development of technique so that the artisan improved his craft, the merchant his skill in business dealings, and the mariner his knowledge of the art of navigation. Sophocles wrote a treatise on the technique of the drama. The would-be orator and leader of the people studied under teachers called sophists who professed to teach all the knowledge essential to the statesman; and the battle of wits in the agora and palaestra produced the master of dialectic. Socrates.

There was thus ample opportunity for every man to find full and free opportunity to express himself as an individual and a member of a group and to gain such recognition as he had earned in whatever capacity or station of life he found himself—to use the technique he had mastered as an individual to the glory of the group to which he belonged—"competitive coöperation," a condition which developed a creative spirit. And out of these lesser loyalties was built the greatest loyalty, the highest form of self-fulfillment, Athens.

"I would have you," said Pericles, "fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens until you become filled with the love of her." But that love was already there. Always a fundamental element in the Greek city state, the greatness of Athens commanded it in a higher degree. As for the Englishman, patriotism was for the Athenian true religion. And what a foundation it had!—traditions of Theseus, Draco, and Solon, memories of Marathon and Salamis, stories of Themistocles, Aristeides, Cimon and other great men of the past, whose statues stood on the Acropolis or around the agora or had been painted by Polygnotus on the porticoes, and the present glory of the empire and the city itself. There had been times in the sixth century when the minds of the Greeks had wavered between legalism and mysticism; but in the Persian wars, when

even Apollo had weakened, it was the old divinities of the city states and the local heroes who had come to the rescue of the Greeks and had fought and won for them. There had been a time when men had begun to lose confidence in their own abilities. But the triumph over the might of Persia had restored that and had given the clarion call to advance in the full glory of men as citizens of the state under the gods. To be sure, there is a warning note of a balancing pessimism. It would not be Greek without it. But Herodotus expresses the idea of some of his own age in the words which he put into the mouth of Solon. When Croesus asked whom the Athenian sage deemed the happiest of men, the answer came: "Tellus of Athens, because he lived in a well-governed commonwealth: had sons who were virtuous and good; and he saw children born to them all, and all surviving; in the next place when he had lived as happily as the condition of human affairs will permit, he ended his life in a glorious manner; for coming to the assistance of the Athenians in a battle with their neighbors of Eleusis, he put the enemy to flight and died nobly. The Athenians buried him at the public charge in the place where he fell and honored him greatly,"—as man, the member of a family, and a citizen.

The Athenian's pride was further enhanced as he surveyed the empire which his fathers had won for him. From the ancient Greek, as well as from the modern point of view, there is a dark side to this picture in the interference with local rights, in the burden of carrying cases to Athens, the payment of tribute even though that was surely less than self-protection would cost, and in the lack of representation in the councils of the league. On the other hand, the empire brought positive benefits to the Aegean world. It kept the Persian at bay, made piracy extinct, and peace the order of the day. It provided uniform systems of weights, measures, and coinage and a substantial unity of law. It preserved the democratic elements against the assaults of their enemies and it assured to the people of the Aegean a place in the Athenian market for the purchase of grain and the sale of their pro-

ducts. This was probably the happiest period that this troubled section of the world had ever known.

Whatever were defects or benefits of the empire to the allies, to the Athenian it was a source of pride as he traveled about on the fleet or on some commission or board of assessors, as he heard the subjects plead their cases in the Athenian law courts, or saw them pay their tribute into the treasury of Athena. The commercial benefits we have already seen. The tribute money made possible the great state works that were to be the glory of the age. And this empire was Athenian. "For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity."

The glory of Athens was the glory of its citizens. If it was great, it was because they were great. In the Funeral Oration which has been quoted so many times, Pericles recited the glories of the city rather than of individuals because "in magnifying the city," he said, "I have magnified them and men like them whose virtues have made her glorious." Sophocles, surveying the scene, wrote for the chorus in the Antigone the supreme statement of the spirit of the age:

Wonders are many and none is more wonderful than man; the power that crosses the white sea, driven by the stormy southwind, making a path under surges that threaten to engulf him; the Earth, the eldest of the gods, the immortal, the unwearied, doth he wear, turning the soil with the offspring of horses, as the ploughs go to and fro from year to year.

And the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep, he snares in the meshes of his woven toils, he leads captive, man excellent in wit. And he masters by his arts the beast whose lair is in the wilds, who roams the hills; he tames the horse of shaggy mane, he puts the yoke upon its neck, he tames the tireless mountain bull.

And speech and swift-winged thought and all the moods that mould a state hath he taught himself; and how to flee the arrows of the frost when 'tis hard lodging under the clear sky and the arrows of the rushing rain; yea, he hath resource for all; without resource he meets nothing that must come; against Death shall he call for aid in vain; but from baffling maladies he hath devised escapes.

Cunning beyond fancy's dream is the fertile skill which brings him now to evil, now to good. When he honors the laws of the land and that justice which he hath sworn by the gods to up-hold, proudly stands his city; no city hath he who for his rashness dwells with sin. Never may he share my hearth, never think my thoughts, who doth these things.

VI

Sophocles was an Athenian of good family and some wealth. As a boy he led the dancers in the chorus that celebrated the victory of Salamis. He grew to manhood in the days of Aristeides and Cimon. He served the state in official capacity as befitted a true citizen. In the competitive field of dramatic composition he mastered his technique so well that he wrote a treatise on it and produced in the Oedipos Tyrannos the most perfect piece of drama known. He wrote the Antigone, that majestic study of the tragedy of the individual for whom the divine and the human laws are in conflict. The story came from the epic. But did he draw the character of Antigone from that source, from the traditional stupid women of Athens, from among the brilliant but immoral hetaerae, or from a god-given imagination? Or were there in Athens women of strength of character and of intelligence, like Elpinice and Isodice, from whom as models he might draw his picture? The play was to be presented in competition. On what was it to be judged? The audience knew the story as well as did the dramatist. The victory depended on the skill with which the characters were handled and on the explanations which the dramatist presented of their actions. Where did the poet get the political insight, the fine knowledge of human psychology, and the supreme courage therein displayed, but from the life of the city around him in which he was not a spectator but a part? The play was presented. A man of wealth, the choregos, paid the bill, as eager as Sophocles to win the prize. The drama was performed by actors and chorus whose training had been received in the numerous smaller contests and who wished by the display of their skill to gain the favor of the audience. The contest was judged by Athenians chosen by their fellow-citizens and without doubt keenly sensitive to the reactions of the crowd. And the audience itself—Athenians, rich and poor, resident aliens, allies and visitors, men and women—sat on the slopes of the Acropolis with the glories of Athens around them and the majestic sweep of the landscape before them, and enjoyed and criticised the plays set before them in the name of the god, plays which they themselves made possible and from which they must need have learned much wisdom of human nature. Here is no picture of a leisure class resting upon slave labor, but of the whole which was Athens.

Ictinus and Callicrates planned the Parthenon. technique based on all the wisdom and experience of architects. Egyptian, Oriental, Greek, before them, they described its plans and its proportions. But they were hired by a board of ten chosen by the Athenian people. Their orders were executed not by slaves driven to their work, but by citizens, metics, and slaves working side by side-men who had learned their technique in the quarries and stone masons' shops of Athens and who to the glory of Athena polished the stones so that when put together they seemed to have been that way by nature, and carved the flutes and gave to the whole that series of graceful curves as planned by the architects, so that years after Plutarch wrote, "There is a sort of bloom of newness upon these works . . . preserving them from the touch of time as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in the composition of them." And today the Parthenon shattered is not a ruin, but a glorious monument.

Pheidias, his technique based on the experience of a host of sculptors before him, planned the pediments, the metopes, and the glorious Ionic frieze. The theme of pediments and metopes he found in the legendary story of Athens; the model for the frieze, in the Panathenaic procession. But the work was done again by citizens, metics, and slaves trained as were the stone masons and inspired by the same motives. The empire made the building possible through its payment of tribute. The spirit which pervaded it was the Athenian concept of Athena. In other words, the Parthenon was the full expres-

sion of Athens, not the product of a leisure class and the work of slaves.

The most brilliant intellectual product of the age was Socrates. A stonecutter by trade, of very restricted means, he felt that the gods called upon him to devote his extraordinary mental powers to Athens. He, too, learned from the past what it had to teach. But the basic elements of the knowledge upon which he based his teaching he drew not from conversations in salons with gentlemen of leisure, but from discussions in the market-place, in the saddlers' shops, in the Peiraeus, with average men, laborers, metics, as well as with citizens of wealth or noble birth. The doctrine which he thus developed and taught was the proper use of the intelligence by the citizen in his relations with his fellow-citizens and his city -the Periclean ideal of the full expression of the individual in the state. His own devotion to Athens and her laws he showed many times in his long life and in the manner of his death. Xanthippe may well have called him a member of a leisure class, but the modern world will hardly so class him. Pericles himself, in his ancestry, training and long career in the service of Athens, was as much the product as he was the leader of his age.

These and many like them were the products of Periclean Athens. For a brief period the civilized world paid tribute of its men, its wealth and its ideas to one small community. There was found a citizen-body varied, versatile, receptive, and animated by a high ideal of citizenship. The resolution of these forces produced the works of art and literature which have become the glory of the Age of Pericles.

But the picture has an inevitable counterpart. The same stimuli of improved technique in competition, of the broadening of the intellectual horizon, of the desire of the individual for fulfillment, which led some to the glorification of Athens in their lives, sent others in different directions. Anaxagoras followed the lead of the earlier philosophers into explanations of the universe. Hippocrates of Cos gave medicine its sure scientific foundation. Meton worked in astronomy. Protagoras and the Sophists devoted their abilities to the study of

the science of government and the art of public speaking and trained young men for public life. A few, Socrates and Euripides among them, penetrated the mists, saw the glaring injustices of the imperial system and of the social order, and dared to question the gods and to work for greater justice for the individual. But this is individualism, the striving for success or knowledge or happiness for the benefit of the individual, not for the glory of the state. The trials of the Peloponnesian War hastened the process and Pericles' Funeral Oration was the panegyric of an age that was passing. Euripides and Aristophanes succeeded to Sophocles: Praxiteles and Lysippus to Pheidias; Cleon, Eubulus and Demosthenes to Pericles: Plato and Aristotle to Socrates. The city built its theatre and devoted its wealth to lifting the submerged classes-all motivated by ideals more human, less austere, yet less grandly majestic. Progress or decline, who shall say? In place of Sophocles' portrayal of man, the citizen, the greatest wonder of the world, stand the words of Protagoras,-"Man is the measure of all things, of things that are, that they are, or things that are not that they are not."

The Age of Pericles has become a golden memory.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1852 TO 1860

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THE importance of South Carolina's action in initiating secession in 1860 has of course been generally recognized by historians, the more since recent research seems to indicate that, if South Carolina had not acted, no other southern state would have led the way. But it has been a common assumption that South Carolina's action was a foregone conclusion, that the State had been ready for separation from the Union in 1850 and never thereafter wavered in her purpose and desire. No historian has analyzed the National Democratic movement of this crucial decade or attempted to weigh its significance, although a South Carolinian of that day who became a historian, W. H. Trescot, wrote in 1870 that if this group had had more time "a school of public opinion would have been formed at the South which would have steadily widened the sphere of its influence and manifested its ability to deal wisely and successfully with those issues which have just reached their bloody solution."1

South Carolina was the last of the southern states to accept the Compromise of 1850. The State Rights party—the Separate State Actionists—was utterly shattered by that struggle and their leader, R. Barnwell Rhett, retired from his position as United States Senator. The successful Coöperationists fared little better. The crisis past, they had no program for the future, nothing on which to build a permanent party and they soon ceased to have any group activity. The people in general felt little concern for the fate of either party. For twenty-five years there had been much political excitement in South Carolina and after 1847 it had reached a high pitch. In 1850 men had without doubt nerved themselves to separation from the Union. Poised for the leap, they had been dragged from the brink by a frightened leadership. The reaction was tremendous. In sheer emotional ex-

¹ Trescot, Memoir of the Life of J. Johnston Pettigrew, pp. 28, 37-38.

haustion they sank into political apathy. Old issues and old leaders now met no response. Calhoun's works, published after his death by order of the legislature and distributed in large numbers to every section of the state, lay on the shelves unsold, and in three successive sessions of the legislature the proposal to erect a monument in his honor was defeated. Why erect a monument to a man whose principles had been abandoned? Secessionists mourned that the Union was stronger than it ever had been; but the general feeling was not unionism, rather weariness and apathy. Men wanted only to forget the whole futile, unhappy past. And when the stage of mere lassitude began to end, they turned for their public interests, not to the old discredited issues, but to questions of material development and to democratic and humanitarian movements.2

Naturally, old political leaders were baffled.3 Naturally, too, old and new groped for some new appeal to restore a normal political activity and interest. Gradually, out of the chaos and flux, new ideas and tendencies began to emerge, to compete with the old and with each other. New groups began to form. There was much confusion, of course. Neither issues nor tendencies were clearly recognized, and there was much blind groping, much evasion, much overlapping and inconsistency. Yet the significance of the confusion seems unmistakable. The old order was threatened. Could it save itself? On the answer hung the fate of South Carolina, and with it the fate of the South and the Union.

The first of the new groups to appear was one which came to be called the National Democrats. It was foreshadowed as

The Charleston Evening News, Aug. 23, 1854, wrote of South Carolina: Her principles,—can they be asserted? Her position—can it be defined?

What is her policy? Sullen apathy or compromise and spoils? Is she Union? No. Is she disunion? No .--who are they?-

Let her undefined position, her unaroused apathy, her unformed hopes, her purposeless action answer.

^a The sources used in the preparation of this paper are, in the main, the following South Carolina newspapers: the Courier, the Mercury, the News, the News and Gazette, and the Standard, of Charleston; the Camden Weekly Journal; the Southern Patriot and the Southern Enterprise, of Greenville; the Keowee Courier; the Sumter Watchman. The correspondence in the James H. Hammond Papers (Library of Congress) is invaluable.

early as 1852 when the Charleston Mercury, organ of the defeated secessionists, labored in vain to keep the state out of the presidential campaign. A young Congressman from the mountain section, James L. Orr, joined with enthusiasm in support of Pierce, as did the Coöperationist leaders in Charleston. Orr seems to have begun cautiously at this time to build up a party in South Carolina. He and B. F. Perry, staunchest of Unionists, picked the new Senator elected to Rhett's place, J. J. Evans. In 1853 Preston S. Brooks was elected to Congress and became Orr's most prominent lieutenant, and in 1854 Francis Pickens, an old leader closely associated with Calhoun, a secessionist in 1851, formally placed himself beside Orr while the Mercury dubbed them nationalists—"National Democrats"—and shrieked anathemas at them as traitors to the South—anathemas which it finally admitted to be futile.

In 1855 some of the secessionists, convinced that the progress of the new group could not be checked by the old formulas, went into the Know Nothing party. They proposed to drop disunion as an impossible issue and to use the new appeal of Americanism to win Carolinians from the National Democrats. Orr, who was known to belong to Stephen A. Douglas's following in the Democratic party, accepted the challenge and became aggressive. Secessionists realized the dilemma, but, because the American party, if it should gain a foothold, would divide the state into two national parties such as she had not had since 1840, even the Mercury reluctantly joined in a rallying of all Democrats, national and secessionist, to defeat the movement. As Know Nothings had warned, it was not the Mercury faction, but the National Democrats who reaped the benefit from the elimination of the Americans. No sooner were they out of the way than Orr formally proposed that South Carolina be represented in the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1856, and under his influence some 40 of the 169 members of the legislature issued a call for a state convention to choose delegates.

The National Democratic movement was thus definitely inaugurated, a movement which Orr on the one side and Rhett on the other saw with equal clearness spelled the doom of the old Carolina and a revolution in state politics. The movement expressed the stirring of South Carolina in recognition of and response to the great forces of nationalism and democracy which were so powerfully moving the rest of the country. Orr proposed, in the first place, to abandon the policy of isolation which had been followed since Nullification. Instead of a mere "alliance" with the Democratic party, Carolinians should take their places in the national councils and play a part in the determination of party policies. He based his appeal partly on cooperationist grounds; but cooperation not merely with southern states but with northern as well, would tend, so Orr hoped and Rhett feared, not to win the other southern states to a Southern Confederacy, but to reconcile South Carolina to the Union. Rhett, who had seen numerous efforts at southern unity defeated by the potent ties of parties, had come to feel there was no nationalizing influence so greatly to be feared as this. Participation by South Carolina in national conventions would undo the work of a generation.4 Orr, indeed, was frankly national in his appeals. He denied the secessionist argument as to the weakness of the South and the menace to slavery in the Union. His dismissal of disunion as the agitation of radicals, his emphasis on the prosperity of the South, his confidence in the Democratic party, his admiration for the North and his great popularity there, his eager coöperation in party activities in northern states,—all these struck a new note in South Carolina. This optimistic attitude would certainly

^a The repeated denunciations of the National Democrats as the "spoils party" were the recognition of one of the chief aspects of the nationalizing influence of political parties. Secessionists as well as cooperationists shared in the distribution of federal offices and were twitted with this evidence that disunion had become a mere "game of brag and bluster." Orr appealed to the ambitions of young men who wished to play a larger rôle on the national stage and protested against the isolation which excluded them from participation in the big movements of their time. John Cunningham, though a secessionist, said that the young men of talent had been driven from the state in numbers because there was no arena there for their efforts. Orr and Aiken, Congressmen, were both prominent candidates for Speaker of the House of Representatives in Decembr, 1855, and they and others were suspected of following even the lure of the presidency. Perry wrote later that Orr's thorough understanding of human nature was the key to his success through life. "As a wise, far-seeing and successful politician, I never knew the superior of Judge Orr." Reminiscences of Public Men, p. 180. Charleston Weekly Neves and Gasette, Sept. 6, 1855; Jan. 10, April 24, May 1, 12, 1856.

undermine the old Carolinian psychology. The state would cease to stand apart and "far in advance" of the rest of the South, would instead be divided by the same conflicting loyalties, southern and national, which had in the past and would always, Rhett believed, prevent united action of the South to achieve secession.

If the abandonment of isolation threatened a revolution, the issue of electoral reform was no less a menace to the old regime. Democracy as well as nationalism, the National Democrats wished to bring to South Carolina; and the two issues were closely related. The National Democrats protested against the unique distinction of the South Carolina political system. The property qualifications for membership in the legislature, the election of presidential electors and of the Governor by the legislature instead of by the people, the basis of representation in the lower house of the legislature—half taxation, half population—worse still, the arbitrary apportionment for the Senate (one member to each of the districts and parishes) which gave permanent control to the low country parishes over the greater white population of the districts of the back country, the concentration of power in the hands of the legislature with relatively little local self-government, the prestige of wealth and family that made office holding the prescriptive right of a small group of planters—all formed a system more consciously aristocratic than could be found elsewhere in the United States.

The movement for democratizing the state was clearly a sectional issue. The growth of greater political self-consciousness on the part of Carolina's yeomanry—small planters and farmers—involved a repudiation of the old planter control and parish domination. It was not a question of slavery, for in many of the districts the slave population was large. But the largest slave owners continued to be in the parishes, while in general the holdings were smaller and more nearly equal in the districts. The parishes remained the home of the old aristocracy. The "countryman" and the cultured planter of the low country were each keenly conscious of the difference between them. This difference had often expressed itself in

sectional votes. Particularly the parishes had been regarded as the "hot bed of radicalism" on the subject of federal relations and had furnished the driving force for nullification and secession. In both these struggles complaint against the parish system had been heard. In 1851 they had been especially prominent, and the vote by which secession was finally defeated was a sectional one, the victory of Charleston and the districts over the parishes. It was to be expected, then, that the demand for electoral reform should come to the front in the period following, and that the National Democrats, who represented a combination of Charleston and the districts, should espouse it.

A proposal to give the election of presidential electors to the people was before the legislature in 1851. In 1852 it was "the great question." The next year it was up again, and the next, and the next. Many came to feel that the change was inevitable, though they deplored it and were determined to postpone the evil day as long as possible. Some admitted that the existing system was repressive and approved concessions, such as election of presidential electors and the division of the big district of Pendleton, which would still leave intact the parish system of the Senate, bulwark of Carolinian conservatism. The debates on these measures showed clearly that they were merely the entering wedge. The division of Pendleton in 1854 did not quiet the demand for electoral reform—the term for popular election of presidential electors. In 1855 this measure passed the House but was lost in the Senate. The feeling manifested by the districts toward the "House of Lords" was deep and bitter. The Mercury recognized with equal bitterness that electoral reform was the first step toward a complete revolution in the state: planter-parish control was to be supplanted by majority rule and South Carolina was to descend from her proud eminence, to be swayed by the same mob spirit, the same tyranny of the majority, as the Northern democracies.5

⁶ See the letter of John Townsend in the Charleston Weekly News, Sept. 28, 1854. The democratic spirit is seen also in the fact that new men, smaller men, began to aspire to high office. Complaint was common that there was a "reign of mediocrities and cliques," and that "the intelligence which represented the State in State and Federal councils was beneath the capacities of the people."

The growing democratic spirit in South Carolina may be seen also in the educational movements of the time. Agitation for a common school system to replace the old "pauper system" and to bring education to the mass of the people-led by men prominent in the National Democratic movementbrought about its inauguration in 1856. With it was an outcry against "aristocratic" ideas of education, especially a protest against South Carolina College as "a rich man's college" which monopolized higher education and by its political power in the legislature and in the disposition of the state offices was an important instrumentality in the functioning of the aristocratic social and political system. This protest forced some concessions from the College itself and led also to the establishment, in spite of the opposition of the College, of the first colleges in the up country. Thus in education was there indication of a new Carolina to which the National Democrats were giving political expression.6

In yet another respect the National Democrats were identified with forces which were undermining the old régime. They were the ones who joined most heartily in the movement for diversification of industry—for the establishment of manufactures, the building of railroads, the development of the same varied industrial life which the North was enjoying. There was no hint of antislavery in all this, and yet in its emphasis on white rather than black labor, on creating opportunities for the poorer whites and encouraging white immigration, on a varied industrial society of white as well as black labor instead of an economy based exclusively on the plantation and slavery, the movement, while in part an expression of Southern Nationalism, tended to undermine the whole philosophy of a separate southern society, distinct and different from that of the North. It was a sound instinct of the seces-

^o The newspapers contain much material on this subject. See for example Charleston Courier, Dec. 26, 29, 31, 1853; Dec. 3, 1856. E. W. Knight, Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South, 57 ff., gives tables which show the great increase in the fifties in the annual appropriations for the free schools and in the numbers of students. Meriwether, History of Higher Education in South Carolina, passim. E. L. Green, A History of the University of South Carolina, 66, 312, 324, notes that "the catalogues of the last years of the ante-bellum college call attention to the opportunities for the poor boy." Orr had attended the University of Virginia.

sionists, therefore, to cast doubt on the loyalty of the National Democrats to the South and to slavery. Certainly Orr's repudiation of the traditional southern attitude toward the "Yankee," the northern "shop-keeper," and his argument that northern initiative and readiness to risk in new ventures were characteristics to be admired and copied, not disdained, undoubtedly tended to weaken the old Carolina psychology of "resistance."

The call for a state convention in 1856 placed the case of the National Democrats definitely before the people. A number of newspapers and prominent men now "made the somersault" from disunion to National Democracy, admitting that they "were going with the tide." The anti-conventionists insisted that the movement was not of the people, and proclaimed that "the car of rank federalism" was coursing over the state, that it had become the fashion to sneer at South Carolina's past policy, to ridicule state pride, to sing paeans of praise to the glorious Union and to pray for its preservation, or to reconcile oneself to the fact that it could never be dissolvedcomplaints which seemed justified by the utter failure of the attempt to stem the convention movement. All but three of the districts chose delegates, but of the parishes only Charleston and Georgetown joined. More than ever it was clear that

⁸ See address by Orr at the South Carolina Institute, Charleston Courier, April 18, 1855. Orr was an editor and lawyer; his father was a merchant and farmer. The most exciting issue in South Carolina in the later fifties seems to have been the Blue Ridge Railroad.

⁸ "It is time," wrote the Darlington Flag, "for us to awake to the full import of the deliberate popular decree promulgated in 1851. South Carolina will not secede from the Union. Nay, more than this—we grieve to be compelled to say, but we cannot be blind to the fact—that a great majority of her people, in spite of the wrongs and indignities that we have received are argently attached to the of the wrongs and indignities that we have received, are ardently attached to the Union. . . . But we are sure that the overwhelmingly predominant sentiment of the people is in favor of an unreserved union with the Democratic party, and that

delegates will be appointed." Quoted in Charleston Courier, Jan. 9, 1856.

There was a striking series of articles by "Malachi" in the Courier, beginning in December, 1855. Under the dictation of Calhoun and the "parish barons," he in December, 1855. Under the dictation of Calhoun and the "parish barons," he wrote, the political views of the people were narrowed, "the intellect of the State was shrivelled." The constant political agitation had injured the State. "We have made capital here feel insecure"; hence emigration and the failure to keep pace with the other states in population. It was now clear that disunion "may be a necessity but it will not be a choice." Malachi rejoiced that the "political muzzle is taken off and that the tyranny of the old dynasty is over. The State may now hear other counsels if she does not choose to follow them. We believe that her past dream is over and that now—she is arousing herself like a strong man after sleep." See especially Jan. 7, 15, 1856. National Democracy was a rising of districts against parishes,

of the new against the old Carolina.

The state convention was distinctly an event, and the exultant Orr hailed it as the inauguration of a new era in South Carolina. Delegates were sent to Cincinnati, where Orr was one of the conspicuous leaders of the Douglas group, and where they announced South Carolina's devotion to the Union.^{8*} It was obviously to encourage this new spirit and movement that the Democratic Convention chose Charleston as its meeting place for 1860, a choice which was to prove so unfortunate for the cause of National Democracy.

Obstacles, expected and unexpected, arose, as when Preston S. Brooks, after his attack upon Sumner, swung sharply over to state rights and disunion. The presidential campaign, with the entrance of the Republican party, brought much disunion talk, which was singularly lacking in concreteness. No one suggested that South Carolina should take the lead, there was little faith in Virginia's disunionism, and there seems to have been little interest in the Governors' conference. Before the end of October, 1856, whatever hope the Mercury had

harbored for action, was gone.

The election of Buchanan, which seemed likely to strengthen the National Democrats, was the signal for new attacks upon them. Something must be done, or soon it would be too late. Barnwell Rhett emerged from his retirement and began to appeal again for popular support. Another group appeared upon the scene, secessionists also, but, like the Know Nothings, proposing to dispute the field with the National Democrats by means of a new issue, the revival of the African slave trade. The division in the legislature of November, 1856 was sharper than before. Disunion resolutions and resolutions against the convention system were tabled by a sectional vote. The new year, with the appointment of Pickens as Minister to Russia emphasizing the lure of the federal patronage, the Dred Scott decision and the tariff act, brought further reinforcement to

*a Cincinnati Daily Enquirer and New York Herald, June 1-7, 1856.
* The National Democrats' reply is seen in the resolutions offered by T. Y. Simons. Charleston Courier, Nov. 4-6; Dec. 1, 6, 13, 17, 1856. C. S. Boucher, South Carolina and the South on the Eve of Secession, p. 116, map.

the National Democrats. The time seemed right for a new move. If they were really to win the state, they must bring about a conscious repudiation of the political philosophy accepted by the people without question since 1832. The Charleston Courier therefore published an elaborate discussion reaching the conclusion that the Ordinance of 1852, declaratory of the right of secession, was utterly untenable. The "instruction of the rising generation" was its confessed object. Over and over it repeated that people must know what they were in for if they tried to secede: they were in for war. If there was an undercurrent of nervous foreboding in the Courier's hopeful nationalism, there seemed, on the other hand, little of the fire of former times in the attacks upon it. Rhett and other secessionists admitted their despair, 10 and the Mercury was at last constrained to announce the adoption of a more moderate policy.11

The secessionists, however, had no idea of surrender. The senatorial election by the legislature in November, 1857 was the next test of strength, and most of them turned to I. H. Hammond as the person who could best rally "all the elements not committed to nationalism," for he was regarded as the ablest man in the state and his complete retirement since 1850 made him "available." The plan succeeded: Hammond was elected over Pickens, National Democrat, by a vote of 85 to 59. But when the Mercury hailed the result as a victory for the "State Rights party of Calhoun," the "isolating party," there was immediate protest. There had indeed been much bargaining and intrigue, and in the confusion the lines between the groups were more than ever blurred. There was no doubt, however, that the opponents of the National Democrats looked to Hammond to rescue the state from the clutches of the new party.

Great, then, was their consternation, when, in the summer of 1858, after the stormy fight over Kansas and the Lecompton constitution, Hammond returned home to offer to South Caro-

³⁶ Edmund Ruffin, Diary (Ms), 1, 99-100 (May 12, 1857). Cf. James Stirling, Letters from the Slave States (London, 1857), pp. 94 ff., 228 ff., 347-352.
³⁵ Nov. 14, 1857.

lina a southern program, strictly defensive, premised on the acceptance of a continuation of the Union. He refused to identify himself with any group, but the National Democrats naturally leaped eagerly to his support, and the climax seemed reached when he wrote for a dinner given to Orr a letter of cordial commendation, referring to Orr's "extensive national influence"—he had been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives—as a matter of "rare fortune," and Orr, in his address, combined praise of Hammond with praise of the Democratic party and of the Union. To startled radicals it seemed a "conspiracy" for "amalgamation with the Democratic party," for the "nationalization of South Carolina," and the Slave Traders, as they were called, organizing the opposition, threatened swift vengeance.

Once again interest centered in the legislature, which in November, 1858 would choose a colleague for Hammond. The Slave Traders tried to rally all State Rights men to their candidate, J. H. Adams, avowed opponent of Hammond. Hammond's followers, determined to prevent this and to make the election of anyone but Adams seem a vindication of Hammond, championed especially the other State Rights candidates, though without attacking the National Democrats. The latter had counted upon the election of Orr, and the breach between Douglas and President Buchanan over the Kansas nuestion had not seriously embarrassed them. Closely identified with Douglas as Orr and his followers had been, none of them had publicly defended his position on the Lecompton constitution, and many had been loud in their criticisms. But Carolinians had at no time been much stirred over Kansas. and, after the settlement in Congress, the National Democrats apparently did not realize the seriousness of the breach in the national party. They were actively "preparing the public mind" for participation in the convention of 1860, and it was assumed that they would then be found acquiescing, even aiding, in the nomination of Douglas. The Mercury announced that Orr still favored Douglas and a trip to New York to visit him was reported, but Orr himself was silent on the subject. In his public addresses of this summer, looking to the senatorship, he was, however, more than ever aggressive in his championship of the party and the Union. "When this Government is destroyed," he said, "neither you nor I, your children nor my children will ever live to see so good a government reconstructed." There were contingencies, he admitted, in which he would be for disunion, but he hoped never to face them. He over-reached himself when, in Washington just before the election, he quoted Webster's famous phrase of Nullification days, "liberty and Union." The radicals eagerly exploited the blunder, and, in the interest of harmony with the Hammond men. Orr dropped out of the senatorial race.

It was claimed that, united, the State Rights men in the legislature had a majority against the "national men." But they could not be united under the slave trade banner, and the Slave Traders refused to budge. In the end, National Democrats and part of the State Rights men joined to elect a compromise candidate, James Chesnut. He belonged to no group, but all agreed that "conservatism" had triumphed once more, and once more the radicals could only keep silence or mourn the gradual deterioration of the times, while southern politicians, including Orr and Hammond, played with the possibility of the Democratic nomination in 1860.12

The developments of the year 1859 destroyed Hammond's confidence in his "hopeful policy," and upset the calculations of all groups. The agitation of the Slave Traders, the revival of annexation projects,13 the rise of the "slave code" issue, the scheming of Rhett and Yancev for secession in 1860, and the Harper's Ferry episode added new complications and made confusion worse confounded in South Carolina.

Of special concern to the National Democrats was the "slave code" issue. When Douglas set forth, in reply to Lincoln's famous question, the "Freeport doctrine" of unfriendly legislation, the Administration faction seized the opportunity

²⁸ For this whole story, see, besides the newspapers, the Hammond correspon-

dence for 1858 and Ruffin, Diary, IV, 531, 642.

at Orr in 1854 had declared for the acquisition of Cuba, and Cuban, Nicaraguan and Mexican annexations were regarded as part of the National Democratic "bait," designed to distract the South from the issue of secession, and were therefore opposed by the Mercury. South Carolinians were in general so little interested that these never became questions of any importance.

of crushing him by destroying his southern support. Led by Jefferson Davis, it demanded that the Democratic party formally repudiate squatter sovereignty and that Congress accept responsibility for the protection of slavery in the Territories. Carolinians were dubious about the demand. It was an abandonment of Calhoun's position. It was frivolous and exacting, speculative and barren, said the two Senators and others. Few National Democrats defended Douglas and some denounced him, but they did not advocate the slave code, and did not urge that a fight be made at Charleston against the Cincinnati platform. Instead, they were obviously looking to reconciliation and restoration of unity in the party. Carefully eschewing anything that looked like "the National Union at all hazards school," even calling themselves state rights men, they criticized the "ultraists" and urged moderation and conservatism.

Then came John Brown's raid. The effect upon South Carolina can scarcely be over-emphasized. There is little doubt that many, hitherto conservative, were now reconciled to a dissolution of the Union, or accepted, regretfully, the possibility of it. Excitement was still at high pitch when the legislature met, and National Democrats, like the rest, announced that there was no safety in the Union. Yet in spite of the apparent unanimity, the differences between radicals and conservatives, secessionist and National Democrats, had not disappeared. However deep and honest their resentment, the National Democrats were, it is clear, hoping that even this crisis might pass and the Union be saved. They resented the assumption on the part of radicals of greater devotion to the state, but in their talk of separation one notes always some reservation, some loophole of escape. Some opposed any action at this time; South Carolina's reputation for inflammatory resolutions was too well established; What good had ever come of these vapory declamations? But they concluded that the excitement must find some outlet, and bent their efforts to direct it into safe channels. They talked about arming the state, but prevented any real military preparation. They sharply repudiated separate state action; the other states would never follow South Carolina, so she must not try to lead; and since no other state would lead, her action must not alienate or antagonize them.

Through resolutions and debates innumerable, the legislature muddled along for days, then finally adopted the resolutions of Memminger, National Democrat. The worst fears of the Mercury that the golden opportunity would be frittered away proved justified. The whole Mercury program had been defeated. The legislature had refused to vote against entering the Charleston convention-37 of the members had even issued the formal call for the state convention-had refused to define its position regarding Douglas and the Cincinnati platform, had refused to follow Alabama and provide for calling the legislature in special session in event of a Republican victory in 1860. As to the resolutions passed, there was in them no real policy of resistance, even by cooperation, no expectation that the southern convention which was proposed would ever meet.

Though the bitterness of feeling manifested in the United States during this winter of 1859-60 seems to the after-view to point inevitably to secession, few men at that time expected that outcome. The Mercury, pushing relentlessly the territorial issue, admitted that for its chief protagonists the struggle was mere party manoeuvering: Davis and the rest were National Democrats, thinking not of principle but of office. In South Carolina the net result of the winter's agitation was felt to be a general sagging of interest and purpose, which would redound to the benefit of the National Democrats.14

The Democratic State convention which met in April. 1860 showed the same sectional character as in 1856. It represented the people of the state, said the South Carolinian, the new Carolina, against the "decrepit." 15 Orr, as President, stressed as earnestly as ever the value of the Union and his belief that peace between the sections would be restored. To the secessionist argument that cooperation, for which the National

Magrath to Hammond, April 15, 1860: Magrath to Hammond,

May 2, 1860. Hammond Papers.

³⁶ Quoted in Keowee Courier, April 28, 1860. The delegates were chosen at primary meetings reported from February into April.

Democrats supposedly stood, required that the convention should take its place beside Alabama and similarly instruct its delegation, there was cold response. Resolutions for support of Alabama were rejected. Orr declared that the Cincinnati platform was satisfactory as it stood; the convention so voted, and an amendment expressly repudiating the squatter sovereignty interpretation of it was first tabled, then reconsidered, and passed. There were no instructions to hamper the delegation as to either platform or candidate. All, said B. F. Perry later, who was one of them, agreed in deprecating withdrawal from the Charleston convention. Orr was offered as South Carolina's candidate for the presidential nomination and Douglas was not mentioned; but the leaders, it seems clear, were looking forward to the nomination of Douglas and Orr on the Cincinnati platform, and the convention certainly left its delegates free to work for this. Bitterly the Mercury denounced "Coöperationists" who thus denied their principles, while men began to speculate on the possibility that South Carolina would vote in the end for Douglas, both in the Charleston convention and in the election. 16

Reporters of the Charleston convention agreed almost unanimously at the beginning that Orr would be able to control the delegation, and they expected it to swing into the Douglas column if, and as soon as, the hoped-for combination for the nomination was made. The delegation did not at first vote with the "radicals"; but it had not realized how bitter the factional fight would become. As the struggle raged day after day, ostensibly over the platform, actually over the nomination, the excitement inside the convention and outside rose to high pitch and subjected the delegation to a pressure which though resented made it "become more fiery." It agreed to drop Orr and support Hunter of Virginia, but a resolution proposed in a delegation caucus, declaring that under no circumstances would South Carolina's vote be cast for Douglas, was tabled by a vote of 8 to 6, each of the eight stating-so it was said later-that there was not a Douglas man

Perry, Biographical Sketches, 145, 153, 186. Hammond to Simms, April 3, 1860: Trescot to Hammond, April 15, 28, 1860. Hammond Papers.

in the delegation. And when Mississippi and Louisiana went out of the convention after Alabama, South Carolina followed. Perhaps the delegation was less unhappy after that, for it was at once apparent that the great majority of the "seceders" had no intention of "inaugurating a revolution." When the rump convention adjourned to Baltimore, they lost interest in their own, and a demoralized body voted to adjourn, saving its face by calling for a new "Democratic" convention at Richmond.¹⁷

Unfortunately for the National Democrats of South Carolina, their call for a new state convention to choose delegates to Richmond had already been issued when the Address of Southern Members of Congress—signed by leaders of the anti-Douglas forces—urged the already elected, the "seceding," delegates to postpone the Richmond convention and go to Baltimore in one more effort to reunite the party. Worse still, the Democratic central committee had been persuaded to frame the call so as to include all Democrats, that is, those who hitherto had opposed the convention movement. The outsiders had pledged themselves to harmony, and evidently the committee hoped that the approval which could not be withheld from the Charleston delegation would establish the National Democrats as the one party in the state.

When the recommendation of the Congressmen appeared, the Charleston *Courier* gave cautious approval. Perry worked actively for it, and Orr's district urged the reappointment of the Charleston delegation, the postponement of the Richmond convention, and all proper efforts for party reunion. A few now denounced Alabama's action in disrupting the convention, and defended Douglas and popular sovereignty as identified with American doctrines of selfgovernment. Most of the National Democrats worked merely for the reappointment of the Charleston delegation, content to leave the rest to them. But the proposal to go to Baltimore, which

³⁷ The New York and Charleston newspapers for April and early May contain much discussion of the Charleston convention. Murat Halsted, National Political Conventions of 1860, pp. 10, 28, 30, 58, 68, 74. Perry, Biographical Sketches, pp. 145, 173, 186. Murphy, "Alabama and the Charleston Convention," in Trans. Ala. Hist. Soc., V. 255. Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1860.

dashed the hopes of the secessionists, revived all the old bitterness and placed in a new light the question of reelecting the Charleston delegation. The parishes all chose delegates to the new convention, and in their meetings the "old Carolina spirit" began once more to rise. Most radical of all, St. John's Colleton, in conscious imitation of its rôle in "inaugurating resistance" in 1828, chose Barnwell Rhett to head its delegation, and asked that the Richmond delegation be instructed to vote as a unit.¹⁸

Thus, when the convention met in Columbia the last of May. 19 in spite of all the talk of harmony, a conflict between the National Democrats or "Conventionists," as they were now called. and the Anti-Conventionists, with the Rhett-Mercury group in the forefront, was clearly on the cards. Orr was not present—one is left to speculate on the reasons and on his activities during this period—and his leadership must have been missed. In the beginning neither faction knew which had a majority, but the Conventionists had the advantage of previous organization and they came prepared to move swiftly to secure control before the newcomers could prevent it. They succeeded in the election of temporary and permanent officers,20 but only after a confused struggle and complaints against their steam-roller tactics. Then followed a motion that the four delegates-at-large to Richmond be nominated by a committee of twelve, two from each congressional district. chosen by the respective delegations. At once substitute resolutions were offered providing that the nominating committee be composed of one from each electoral district. The issue was fairly joined. The congressional districts were divided according to federal population. The electoral districts were the local units-districts and parishes, used for all state purposes-the "parish system," against which the National Democrats had

³⁰ Every district and every parish but one was represented.
³⁰ Sullivan, temporary chairman, expressed the hope that measures would be adopted which would protect the South, preserve the Constitution, and "lead to harmony in the Democratic party of the Union." Charleston Courier, May 31, 1860.

¹⁵ The delegation chosen by Charleston was equally divided between the two factions. Rhett had been asked to absent himself from the meeting, which was guided by the "Washington politicians" who feared lest their plans be hampered by South Carolina radicalism.

been contending for years. The old and the new Carolina faced each other with sharpened self-consciousness. Voting by electoral districts, it was now clear, would give the control to the Anti-conventionists, and the Conventionists, claiming to represent a majority of the white population of the state, violently assailed the old system as minority government. Was it right that 50 or 100 voters in a parish should have the same representation as 3,000 in Spartanburg?²¹ The convention finally voted to dispense with a nominating committee and to proceed to the election of the delegates-at-large, one at a time, on call of the districts—the electoral districts, of course. The old Carolina, precedent and custom and legality on its side, had won.

The Conventionists still hoped that the more moderate of their opponents would join them on the essential point, the reappointment of the four Charleston delegates-at-large, but they were soon undeceived. To cover their defeat, they selected for their first candidate I. W. Hayne, not a National Democrat, but hostile to the Mercury faction. Again they failed. Rhett himself was nominated against Hayne and was elected by a vote of 84 to 67. The storm now broke in unprecedented fury. This, said the Conventionists, was the fulfillment of the pledge of harmony on which the opposition had been invited into the convention. To refuse to reappoint the Charleston delegation while announcing approval of its action was in fact to repudiate that delegation, to sanction the charge that they had acted through fear and could not be trusted at this crucial time. But to go even further and to place at the head of the delegation the leader of the party which for years had denounced the National Democrats venomously as enemies of the state, was an insult that could not be tolerated. The convention had committed itself officially to a vote of censure upon the minority,—a minority which represented an overwhelming majority of the white people of South Carolina.22

²¹ They admitted that in their April convention they had voted by electoral districts; since few parishes were then represented, the method did not matter.

²² According to the census of 1850. Hayne's 67 votes represented a white population of 139,143, Rhett's 84 votes, 106,429. According to the census of 1860 the

The Anti-conventionists tried in vain to soothe their enraged opponents, to assure them that there had been no concerted action, no intention to condemn or proscribe them, only a desire to share in the new delegation. The Conventionists did not hesitate to declare that the issue between Rhett and themselves was disunion. Preston, one of the Charleston delegation, said that if any man went to Richmond from South Carolina expecting one step toward disruption of the Union, he was egregiously mistaken, ridiculously out of fashion; the open declarations of every seceding delegation were that the call to Richmond was solely for the purpose of reintegrating the party. And not an Anti-conventionist took issue with him.23 Indeed, Edmund Ruffin, Virginia secessionist, visiting the convention "to see the disposition toward secession," confided to his diary that he feared there were "not many more avowed advocates for secession" in South Carolina than in Virginia.²⁴ Grimly determined to force the unwilling majority to bear the full burden of Rhett's disunion views, the Conventionists refused all offers of conciliation or compromise, short of Rhett's withdrawal which Rhett did not offer. So sure were they that a "Rhett delegation" would be out of harmony with the other Southerners at Richmond, that they refused to have any share in it. Not one of the Charleston delegation was on the list accredited to Richmond. Some of the Conventionists formally withdrew from the convention. The chairman of the state central committee resigned his office.

The conflict which had torn the convention was taken up by press and people. The Conventionists repeated that the "Ultra" party which had controlled the convention, was by no means the controlling party in the state: so far as the majority of the people were concerned, South Carolina would not be represented at Richmond. They gave warning that the state would repudiate any extreme action or policy. The Anti-conventionists, receiving now the treatment they had

corresponding figures are 148,309 for Hayne, 112,713 for Rhett. The figures need correction at a number of points.

^{*} The Mercury first denied and later admitted the truth of Preston's statement,

June 6, 30, 1860.

** Ruffin, Diary, May 29, 31, 1860.

meted out to their opponents after the April convention, protested with like resentment against the sneers, the arrogance, and defiance that were flung at them. Everywhere, said the Mercury, opposition to those who were trying to vindicate the rights of the South masked itself as opposition to disunion, and was relapsing into squatter sovereignty and support of

Douglas.

Thus, at the time, the winning of the conventon from the National Democrats seemed a Punic victory. Yet in the end it proved of gravest consequence. Just at the crucial moment the old Carolina stood before the world as the State, with Rhett once more in the position of nominal leadership, while the National Democrats, eliminated by their own action from the Democratic party of South Carolina, had lost their organiation, their official position, apparently their leadership, and, worst of all, the confidence and assurance which had hitherto marked their progress. Their unity, their sense of direction, their ability as a group to influence the course of events in the state, were gone. The question of secession was still to be fought out, and until its actual consummation it was not regarded as a foregone conclusion. But in a very real sense the National Democratic movement was at an end. With the split in the national party at Baltimore, the very name dropped out of use and soon faded from the memory of men.

CHARLES W. READ, CONFEDERATE VON LÜCKNER

JAMES D. HILL River Falls, Wisconsin

AY 6, 1863, the C. S. S. Florida, J. N. Maffit, C. S. N., Lieutenant Commanding, captured, off Cape San Roque, Brazil, the Yankee brig Clarence, enroute from Rio to Baltimore with a cargo of coffee. The prize crew had hardly gone aboard before Lieutenant C. W. Read, one of the youngest of Maffitt's subordinates, handed his commander a written proposal whereby the Clarence would be saved from the flames that had consumed most of the previous victims—saved for the more noble purpose (so thought Mr. Read) of

furthering the southern cause for independence.

In essence, Mr. Read's proposal was that he be given command of the prize with a crew of twenty men, including an assistant engineer and a fireman. With these men, well equipped with small arms, he proposed to continue the voyage of the Clarence into Chesapeake bay. True, the narrow waters between the Virginia capes were closely watched by Federal dogs of war, but the registry and clearance papers of the Clarence would get the brig safely past them. Instead of continuing up the Bay, Read proposed to turn into Hampton Roads, then crowded with Federal supply ships and transports. In this supposedly unprotected fold of maritime sheep, the Confederate wolf in woolly clothing would capture and burn as many as possible before the grim shepherd dogs could arrive, and, if luck smiled upon him, perhaps a steamer could be captured. Assistant Engineer Brown would take charge below decks, and an escape to open sea or up the Bay might be effected.1 Captain Maffitt decided to act favorably upon the plan, but in addition to the small arms he added a tiny howitzer, so that Read might capture enemy merchantmen between San Roque and the Virginia capes. He did not ham-

¹Read to Maffitt, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (Washington, 1894-21), Series I, Vol. II, p. 679. Cited hereafter as Official Records.

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per his lieutenant with specific instructions, and thereby left him on his own resources and initiative after the two ships had parted company,2

Thus commissioned, Lieutenant Read, an assistant engineer, three petty officers, whom he promoted to the rank of master's mates³, and seventeen men, well equipped with small arms but with only one brass six-pounder boat gun, started upon a cruise that has many points in common with that of Captain von Lückner, of Seeadler fame, during the recent World War.

Now in calling Lieutenant Read a Confederate von Lückner, the analogy must not be taken too far. The cold, unresponsive records do not reveal any such fond and colorful use of "By Ioe!"4 or its equivalent in the vocabulary of the young Mississippian, nor is there any evidence that he kept his prisoners on full pay during captivity or provided them with champagne to wash down a patrician diet, though it is hoped that he was not stingy with good, black coffee made from the cargo of the Clarence. In personal appearance there is still less in common between the husky, genial, German Count and Lieutenant Read, who was "little more than a boy, bright faced, alert, twenty-three years of age, rather slight, with a brown mustache and whiskers and a thin face."5 It is in tactics that the similitude is striking. Both resorted to sail as a disguise against steam navies; both conducted a very successful raid against the merchantmen of the enemy; and both acted with such daring vigor that their opponents received reports of their captures with little less than incredulity.

In spite of Lieutenant Read's youthfulness, the new commander of the Confederate States' cruiser Clarence was not a novice in the art of arms. He had graduated from the fouryear course at Annapolis, June 1860, a classmate of the subsequent Rear Admiral Schley, a class ahead of the equally famous W. T. Sampson, and only two classes behind the more

³ Maffitt to Read, Ibid., 645.
³ Read to Secretary Mallory, Ibid., 657.
⁴ Thomas, Lowell, "The Sea Devil", World's Work, LIV (1927), 259.
⁴ As described by citizens of Portland, Maine.—Hale, Clarence, "The Capture of the Caleb Cushing," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Series III, Vol. I (1904), 205.

widely renowned Dewey.6 After seven months of actual naval duty. June 15, 1860 to the following February, he resigned to enter the service of his state.

His transition from a naval fledgeling to a seasoned officer was rapid. When Admiral Farragut appeared on the Mississippi south of New Orleans, former Midshipman Read, U.S.N., had become Lieutenant Read, C.S.N. and was second in command of the converted merchant steamer McRae, which was a member of the hastily improvised Confederate fleet that was to dispute the up-river progress of the Federal menof-war. Though the engagement that followed was nothing short of disastrous to the Confederates, young Read emerged from it a hero. He had taken command of the McRae in the heat of the engagement after the crew had been demoralized by a fire in the sail room, the bursting of a pivot gun amidships, and the falling of the captain with a mortal wound. Out of this chaos he not only had brought order, but also had retrieved and carried back into action the C. S. S. Resolute which had been run ashore and abandoned by her less courageous commander earlier in the battle.8 Under Read's skilful handling, the McRae survived the conflict, but sustained such injuries that she sank off New Orleans just before the arrival of the Federal fleet; and Read, with the remnants of his crew. reported to the naval headquarters at Jackson for further duty.

The following August, when the Confederate ironclad ram. Arkansas, emerged from the mouth of the Yazoo river and shot her way through the Federal flotilla of thirty or more gunboats above Vicksburg, Lieutenant Read commanded her stern battery of six-inch rifles, and a certain Mr. E. H. Brown, third assistant engineer, directed the energies of a section of perspiring oilers and wipers.9

^{*} Marshall, E. C., History of the United States Naval Academy, (New York,

Marshan, E. C., Instry of the Ornes States Nature Nature 1862), pp. 144, 145.

Callahan, E. W. (Editor), Officers of the Navy of the United States and Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900 (New York, 1901), 453.

Scharf, J. T., History of the Confederate States Navy (New York, 1887), 287; Kennon, Beverly, "Fighting Farragut below New Orleans," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, II, 76; Official Records, Series I, XVIII, pp. 287, 295,

Scharf, J. T., op. cit., 308, 311 et seq.; Official Records, Series I, XIX, pp. 131, 135-6.

After the destruction of the *Arkansas* by her own crew fifteen miles north of Baton Rouge because of the complete breakdown of her defective machinery, Read and Brown were detailed to duty on the English built and English armed cruiser *Florida*, which had, on September 4, 1862, dashed through the blockade into Mobile bay with a ravaging epidemic of yellow fever aboard.

Lieutenant Read's growing reputation as a seasoned officer was unquestionably responsible for his assignment to the much preferred cruiser duty, for in the entry of November 4, the very disgruntled Maffit quits complaining to his diary about the inefficiency and delay in the reconditioning of his ship long enough to write: "Lieutenant C. W. Read, the last lieutenant I personally applied for, joined; this officer acquired a reputation for gunnery, coolness and determination at the battle of New Orleans. When his commander, T. B. Huger, was fatally wounded, he continued to gallantly fight the McRae until she was riddled and unfit for service." A glowing tribute, indeed, coming as it did from a veteran product of the old, salty school of non-academy midshipmen, who probably held the typical academy youngster in as much disdain as he did the grammatical usage concerning the split infinitive.

Thus it was that Lieutenant Read's fortunes began to rise with those of the successful cruiser, Florida, when on the murky, rainswept night of January 15, 1863, her anchor was broken loose from its first and last hold on Dixieland and she was steered cautiously through the double cordon of momentarily inattentive Federal blockaders to escape without more than an exchange of shots and a stern chase. He continued to share the fortunes of the lucky steamer and her crafty commander for the next three and a half months, during which time the cruiser darted back and forth among the islands of the West Indies, capturing and burning prizes, but all the time working her way toward Cape San Roque, Brazil, off which the Cape Horn and Cape of Good Hope trade routes converged—the Happy Hunting Ground of all Confederate commerce destroyers. It was there that the Clarence met her fate,

^{20 &}quot;Diary of Captain J. N. Maffitt", Official Records, Series I, Vol. I, p. 768.

and Read made his proposal for utilizing the innocent appearing brig for a separate raid up the Atlantic seaboard and into Chesapeake bay.

In spite of the nature of the brig's mission, life aboard the *Clarence* must have been as dull as on any peaceful trader for the first two weeks. The tedium was then alleviated by the chasing of a number of strange sails that were sighted at frequent intervals near the Windward islands, but in no instance was the chase overhauled, for the *Clarence* proved to be but a mediocre sailer.¹¹

This failure to take a prize became a serious matter when the provisions began to get low. In these straights, Read had the good fortune to intercept an English craft which sold the young commander a liberal supply of cabin stores, and threw in a cask of "half and half" by way of promoting international goodwill. Read reciprocated with a present to the English captain in the form of three hundred bags of coffee. The lieutenant seems to have been a bit generous in this exchange of presents, even though the coffee did come from a captured cargo that was ultimately to be destroyed. But at that, the three hundred to one ratio probably reflects the relative evaluation that a true son of Neptune would place upon the two beverages.

On the 6th of June the first capture was made. About two hundred and fifty miles west by south from the Bermudas, the bark, Whistling Wind, laden with coal for the Federal fleet on the Mississippi, was captured and burned. The next day Read intercepted the Yankee schooner Alfred H. Partridge, New York to Matamoras, Mexico. "She was loaded with arms and clothing for our citizens in Texas." In view of this strange but welcome mission for a ship flying the stars and stripes, he released her, after bonding the captain for \$5,000, the same to be canceled upon the safe delivery of the cargo "to loyal citizens of the Confederate States". Work-

¹¹ An Officer of the United States Navy with Addenda by an Officer of the Three Vessels, "The Cruise of the Clarence-Tacony-Archer", Maryland Magazine of History, X (1915), 44; Read to Secretary Mallory, Official Records, Series I, Vol. I, p. 645.

An Officer of the United States Navy, etc., op. cit., 43-4.
Read to Mallory, Official Records, Series I, Vol. II, p. 655.

ing closer in toward Cape Hatteras, he captured and burned. June 9, the brig Mary Alvina, Boston to New Orleans, with United States Army commissary stores.

From the prisoners and papers captured on the two Federal supply ships, Lieutenant Read learned "that it was impossible to carry out the instructions of Commander Maffit. No vessels were allowed to go into Hampton Roads unless they had supplies for the U.S. Government, and then they were closely watched. The vessels lying at the wharf above Fortress Monroe were guarded by a gunboat, and there were sentries on the wharf. Just outside the fort there were two boarding steamers."14 In other words, the papers of the Clarence would admit Read and his party to no section or branch of Chesapeake bay where Federal supply ships were grouped. He then resolved to cruise between the Virginia capes and New York in hope of making a prize of a government supply ship with clearance papers for Hampton Roads. He could then transfer to such a vessel and, armed with her. credentials and orders, enter the Roads without occasioning suspicion; "and in the meantime . . . do all possible injury to the enemy's commerce."15

Three days later, June 12, Captain Munday, of the bark Tacony, returning from the army base at Port Royal to Philadelphia in ballast, was directly off the Virginia capes and almost in sight of land. Being a wary and judicious individual, and knowing that a man could not trust even a friend in those war days, the good captain all but violated the most imperative law of the seas when he sighted a strange brig with a distress signal flying. Something told him to let the brig alone since the sea was placid and land not too distant to make in small boats, "but upon seeing men apparently in distress he put toward her,"16 and, perhaps, a second thought brought visions of fat salvage claims to the mind of the cautious skipper.

M Ibid.

Ibid., 656.
 A. E. Souder & Co., owners of the Tacony, to Secretary Welles, Official Records, Series I, Vol. II, pp. 273-4.

Be that as it may, Captain Munday had hardly hove-to near the distressed brig, which was none other than Lieutenant Read's Clarence, when a boat filled with men pushed off and approached the would-be rescuer. They swarmed up the side of the bark hand over hand and upon reaching "the deck of the Tacony presented revolvers at the captain and mate and those on deck and ordered them into their boat and took them to the Clarence as prisoners."17 While Read was thus engaged, the schooner M. A. Shindler, also in ballast from Port Royal to Philadelphia, hove in sight; it was captured in the same manner, and burned at once. Examination of the Tacony's log, however, showed that she was a much better sailer than the Clarence: hence the Confederate commander ordered the six-pounder transferred to the bark, with all the personal effects of the crew and prisoners. While the exchange was being made the schooner Kate Stewart, owned by the same company as the Tacony, came over the horizon and sighted the unusual proceedings. Her captain's curiosity got the better of him, so that he shifted his course to steer straight into the arms of the raider, all of which was rather embarrasing to Read, as his only weapon of offence was temporarily out of commission, being at that moment in one of the small boats plying between the Clarence and the Tacony. Fortunately, some Ouaker cannon had been mounted on the Clarence during the first dull weeks of the voyage. One of these was thrust through a port toward the strange schooner, and her commander hove-to with great alacrity. But this latest addition offered new problems. She was carrying passengers, mostly ladies, which increased the prisoners to menacing numbers. Read's solution was the bonding of the Kate Stewart for \$7,000 and the transferring of all prisoners to her for convevance to land.18

Thus unencumbered and with a newer and faster ship under his feet, prospects should have looked bright for the young lieutenant, but he knew full well that the jig was up in so far as gaining admittance to Hampton Roads was con-

17 Ibid.

²⁸ A. E. Souder & Co. to Welles, op. cit., 274; and Read to Mallory, op. cit., 656.

cerned. The released prisoners would send a swarm of gunboats down upon him. As he shaped his course for a position well off shore, the brig *Arabella* was sighted. She was bonded, because of her neutral cargo, for thirty thousand dollars.

Three days later, June 15, about three hundred miles off the Delaware river, the brig *Umpire*, with sugar and molasses from Cuba to Boston, was captured and burned. How, from this point, Reade worked his way northward (his progress is fairly well indicated by the nature and destination of his prizes) past Cape Cod, is succinctly told in his own words:

June 20, . . . captured the ship *Isaac Webb*, from Liverpool to New York, with 740 passengers. I bonded her for \$40,000. On the same day burned the fishing schooner *Micawber*.

On June 21, . . . captured and burned the clipper ship *Byzantium* from London to New York, loaded with coal. On the same day burned the bark *Goodspeed*, from Londonderry to New York, in ballast.

On June 22 captured the fishing schooners Marengo, Florence, E. Ann, R. Choate, and Ripple. The Florence being an old vessel I bonded her and placed seventy-five prisoners on her. The other schooners were burned.

On June 23 captured and burned the fishing schooners Ada and Wanderer.

On June 24, . . . captured the ship *Shatemuc*, from Liverpool to Boston, with a large number of emigrants. I bonded her for \$150,000. On the night of June 24 captured the fishing schooner *Archer*. 19

During this orgy of captures, Lieutenant Read had been giving close attention to the maritime gossip of his sailor prisoners, especially if they were former fishermen recently out from port; and then reading closely the newspapers he located his outward bound prizes. As a result, a few hours after his capture of the *Archer* found him entering the following in his diary:

The latest news from Yankeedom tells us that there are over 20 gunboats in search of us. They have the description of the *Tacony* and overhaul every vessel that resembles her. During the night we transferred all our things on board the schooner *Archer*. At 2 a. m. set fire to the *Tacony* and stood west. The schooner *Archer* is a fishing vessel of 90 tons, sails well, and is easily handled. No Yankee gunboat would even dream of suspecting us. I therefore think we will dodge our pur-

³⁰ Read to Mallory, op. cit., 656.

suers for a short time. It is my intention to go along the coast with a view of burning the shipping in some exposed harbor [and] cutting out a steamer. 20

Read's assumption that "there are over 20 gunboats in search of us" was by no means self-flattery. Stewart, which the Confederates had bonded and sent forth as a cartel at the time of the Tacony capture, had headed straight for the New Jersey shore. Her anchor had hardly kissed the mud of an obscure village harbor before the cautious Captain Munday, late of the Tacony, rushed ashore and caught a train for Philadelphia. There he spilled his tale of woe and piracy to his owners, E. A. Souder & Company. They at once transferred as much of their burden of grief and alarm as a telegram could carry to the capable shoulders of the bewhiskered, conscientious Puritan that presided over the Navy Department—Secretary Welles.

This telegram, received June 13, the day following Read's four captures off the Virginia capes and transfer to the Tacony, was the first of many communications that flowed into the Department to harass and plague the diligent Mr. Welles, though he did begin to scour the North Atlantic with every available craft between Cape Hatteras and Boston before sundown of the same day. He sent out, first and last, no less than thirty-eight ships to run down the raider. Each incoming ship that had been intercepted and bonded by Read brought accurate information as to the weakness of the Confederate bark and her brass pop-gun; nevertheless the consternation along the coast soared with each newly reported depredation.

Voicing demands through mayors, self-delegated publicspirited citizens, board of trade committees on harbor defence. and national politicians, a great hue and cry for naval protection went up from such cities as New Haven, Newport, Boston, and New York.21 In each case, of course, the volume and force of the clamor was directly proportional to the na-

²⁰ "Extract from Lieutenant Read's Private Notebook", Official Records, Series I, Vol. II, p. 329.

²¹ Official Records, Series I, Vol. II, pp. 309, 314-16, 338-40.

tional political influence and power of the petitioning city. The agitation from Boston went so far that on July 1, Governor I. A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, pushed aside his daily newspapers, with their alarming announcements of Lee's advance into Pennsylvania, long enough to write a scathing letter concerning the shortcomings and inefficiency of the Navy Department. He declared that "a rebel vessel, manned by as daring a crew as that of the Tacony, might burn half the towns along Cape Cod, and might even lay, for a few hours, such ports as Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Rockport, and Newburyport, under contribution. . . . The ignorance of the rebels as to our defenseless condition is our most effectual protection in the absence of action by the Navy department."22

But New York proved to be the real thorn in the flesh of the much harassed secretary. June 19, the New York Harbor and Frontier Defense Commission met because of the consternation growing out of Lieutenant Read's activities. After sundry resolutions, it authorized Senator E. D. Morgan to take matters up with the proper Federal authorities. He at once wrote Mr. Welles requesting that the new ironclad, Roanoke, a heavily armored, double turret monster, far more powerful than the first of that type which had curbed the rampant Merrimac in Hampton Roads, be placed "in position to defend this harbor from attack by a hostile ship or steamer."23 The zealous senator then hastened to the Brooklyn Navy vard to "get information as to the condition of iron vessels there that can be used in case of emergency." Mr. Welles answered with a curt note saving that there were no ironclads available "for service in New York harbor" and that the Roanoke was under orders to proceed to Hampton Roads, but shortly afterward he unbent sufficiently to telegraph Senator Morgan that the unfinished ironclad Passaic "remains in New York harbor and is nearly in condition for service."24

But the lords of commerce remained unsoothed, for on the same day as Mr. Welles's assurance, Captain Dunton, erst-

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²⁸ Ibid., 340. ²⁸ Ibid., 300, 304-5. ⁵⁴ Ibid., 306, 321.

while master of the burned bark Goodspeed, reported in to his owners, Sturges, Clearman & Company, with full information as to the loss of his ship and his sojourn as a prisoner on the Tacony. The owners at once wrote the Secretary of the Navy. They said nothing about the sailing qualities, small crew and barking-dog armament of the raider, but made much abuse based upon a cock and bull story from the skipper to the effect that Read had captured four ships and burned two of them while in sight of a Federal gunboat. They also emitted grave warnings that the "pirates" had an engineer aboard (which, of course, was correct), and that any moment a steamer might fall into their hands. Indeed, a rumor eventually became current that a "large lead colored steamer" was responsible for some of the later depredations. 25

With the panic mounting higher and higher in the ranks of the merchant princes, Mayor George Opdyke took a hand. In a brief telegram, he all but ordered the taciturn Mr. Welles to do his bidding concerning the retention of the Roanoke. He seemed to think that nothing short of that primitive dreadnought would be sufficient to insure the safety of the metropolis from the cockle-boat cruiser and its six-pounder swivel. Then Major General Wool, commander of that military district, veteran though he was of two major wars (1812 and the Mexican war) and noted throughout the ante-bellum army as a stern disciplinarian, succumbed to the contagion and joined in the hue and cry for ironclads in general and the Roanoke in particular. His communications and arguments. by the way, savored more of a chamber of commerce environment than that of a military headquarters. "This great emporium," he wrote, "from which you are supplied with money and almost everything to carry on the war," had to be protected 26

Be it said in praise of Mr. Welles that he turned a deaf ear to the clamors of the smug merchants with their committees and politicians, and clung to his program of sweeping the North Atlantic with every available craft and placing his iron-

^{**} Ibid., 321.
** Ibid., 322.

clads to checkmate the armored craft the Confederates were building in various inlets and rivers of the South. In the meantime, Lieutenant Read, now aboard the *Archer*, had launched upon a program that was to bring startled surprise to the good citizenry of Portland, Maine, but relief to the harassed Minister of the Federal Marine.

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The morning of June 26 found the Archer off Portland. Later in the day Read picked up two fishermen, A. T. Bibber and E. Titcomb, of Portland, who were engaged in offshore fishing in a dory. These two individuals were informed that they were prisoners of the Confederate States Navy, but as all of the crew were clad in the rough garments of fishermen, except the Captain, who wore a blue, marine uniform, the fishermen considered it a joke and thought themselves to be the guests of fellow fishermen out for a pleasure jaunt. They unhesitatingly gave full information as to the defences of Portland; the two gunboats that were being built there, what steamers were due in port, and the presence of the United States Revenue cutter Caleb Cushing, a neat little sailing warship, schooner-rigged and mounting a 12- and a 32-pounder.

The fishermen readily agreed to pilot the Archer to an anchorage in the harbor, which was reached about sunset. Read then told his officers of his intention to capture the fast New York passenger liner Chesapeake, burn the shipping and dash to sea. But Mr. Brown doubted his ability to handle her engines without the assistance of another engineer, especially since the steam would probably be down during the night and could not be raised to steaming pressure before dawn, which would find them still under the guns of the forts. Noting that a good offshore breeze was blowing, Read decided to capture the cutter and transfer his flag to her.

About one o'clock that night, he and all but three or four of his men, who remained aboard the *Archer* to carry her to sea, silently approached the *Caleb Cushing* in small boats. Fortune was with the attackers. Captain Clarke, of the cutter, had died the preceding morning, and his successor, Lieutenant Merryman, was not due to arrive in Portland until 4 a. m.

that night. Three of her officers and over half of the crew of twenty-five or thirty men were in the city on shore leave. Thus aboard the cutter there remained but a dozen men and Lieutenant Dudley Davenport, who, by chance, was a native of the South.

The watchman on deck sighted the boats and rushed below to arouse Mr. Davenport, but before he could return the Confederates had already gained the deck. He and the lieutenant were awed into silence by the threatening pistols, and the remainder of the dozen men aboard were captured in their hammocks. At this stage of the game, the star of the audacious Read began to descend. The stiff offshore breeze fell to light variable winds, and before he could get the anchor up, the tide had set in. With an eye to the safety of himself and his crew, he did not tarry to fire the shipping as planned. Even though he manned his small boats and towed the schooner against the tide, and forced the now thoroughly enlightened fisherman Titcomb to pilot the vessel through Hussy Sound toward the open sea, dawn found the Caleb Cushing still within gunshot of the forts. But the wind improved as she approached the open sea, so that Read was able to call in the rowers and proceed without drawing suspicion. By eight o'clock, prospects looked so bright that he went below for a well deserved breakfast, to which, with true Mississippi hospitality, he invited Lieutenant Davenport. But he forgot his southern chivalry long enough to rebuke vigorously his guest for having remained loval to the Union.

While the two lieutenants were furthering their acquaintance at the breakfast table, the citizenry of Portland became aware of the cutter's departure without orders, and "the city was thrown into a state of excitement bordering on consternation."²⁷

The Collector of Customs, Jedediah Jewett, as well as many others, knew of Davenport's southern birth and jumped

³⁷ Portland Argus. Mr. Hale included in his article cited above, a full account of the Caleb Cushing affair as recorded in the Argus—op. cit., 196-200. It contains the customary inaccuracies of the typical newspaper account, but is so sophomorically bombastic, even for the day in which it was written, that it is one of the most entertaining sources growing out of the episode.

to the conclusion that he had taken advantage of the death of his former captain and the absence of a successor to steal the ship for the Confederacy. Then from some source, probably a dull witted night prowler or waterfront watchman who had uncomprehendingly witnessed the boarding, it was learned that an external force had figured in the unauthorized departure—possibly Read and his *Tacony* crew, or a boat expedition from the *Florida*.

Be that as it may, Collector Jewett and Mayor McLellan acted with unusual vigor. The former, proceeding without official instructions, chartered in the name of the government the sidewheel steamer, Forest City, of the Boston Line. Aboard of her he placed the men of the cutter crew who had escaped capture by virtue of their overnight shore leave, thirty-six men from the 17th Regulars at Fort Preble, and two small field guns. Thus within an hour or more after the alarm, the Forest City started in pursuit of the Caleb Cushing, which was still in plain sight from the mouth of the harbor.

In the meantime, the Mayor and the city council had "chartered" in the name of the city but over the protest of the local steamship agent, the fast propeller steamer Chesapeake, of the New York Line. She was armed and manned in much the same manner as the Forest City, though time was taken to protect her vital parts with a barricade of cotton bales, which prevented her from getting underway until the Forest City was in full pursuit.

When the leading steamer had approached within two miles, Lieutenant Read opened fire with his thirty-two pounder. Though none of the four shots fired registered a hit, all fell within a radius of seventy yards from the steamer. In the face of such accuracy at that distance, the Forest City hauled out of range to await the arrival of the Chesapeake. After a megaphone council of war between the two commanders, they again took up the pursuit with the intention of closing in rapidly and ramming the cutter before her long gun could place a shot in a vital place.

The optimism of such a plan of attack might have proved wholly unwarranted had every thing gone well aboard the cutter. As it was, Read was being confronted by a rather embarrassing situation. Excepting five or six 32-pound shots on a rack near the gun, he was unable to find projectiles for his armament, and his prisoner guest, Davenport, flatly refused to show him the keys to the magazine or the whereabouts of the shot locker that held the reserve supply of ammunition.28 When the steamers returned to the attack, therefore. the Caleb Cushing was at their mercy; and Mr. Read found himself making a split-second decision between a Yankee prison and the proverbial locker of one Davy Jones. Naturally he chose the former. He did not surrender, however, until after all hands, including the prisoners, had taken to the small boats and the cutter was fired fore and aft. The fire reached her magazines thirty minutes later. During all of this, the Archer and her skeleton crew had been beating to sea and might have escaped had not one of the liberated fishermen called attention to her. Ship and her crew were speedily taken into custody.

The remainder of Lieutenant Read's service may be told in a few words, for, though he was picturesque to the end, the highwater mark of his career had been reached when he entered Portland harbor.

For about a year he remained a prisoner in Fort Warren, after which he was returned to the Confederacy by exchange. From October, 1864 to the following February, he was rather prosaically engaged in naval battery and gunboat duty on the James river, though there is evidence of his having made an effort to get transferred to duty on a torpedo boat (a term then used by the Confederates to designate their primitive submarines) in the harbor defences of Charleston.

^{**}Official Records, Series I, Vol. II, p. 329. Mr. Davenport, or some members of his crew, very likely resorted to verbal strategy at this stage of the game. Read's official report (ibid., 657) indicates that he thought himself to be completely out of ammunition. Another semi-primary southern account of the action explains the shortage with the statement that the Caleb Cushing was just off the ways and though she had shipped her supply of powder "the shot and shell were anchored in the channel in a scow covered by a tarpaulin.—"The Cruise of the Clarence-Tacony-Archer" (By an officer of the U. S. Navy with addenda by an officer of the three vessels), Maryland Magazine of History, X (1915), 54. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Read is subject to severe criticism as a naval officer for not having made a thorough inventory of his resources until he was in the presence of the enemy.

In the twilight of the Confederacy, however, he launched upon an enterprise worthy of his metal. He took command. March 31, 1865, of the ram William H. Webb, then lying at Shreveport, Louisiana. It was his plan to slip the Webb past any blockaders below that river port, similarly avoid capture by the Federal fleet at New Orleans, and dash to Cuba with a cargo of cotton. From there he intended to re-enter the Confederacy at Galveston, but not until he had destroyed some

Union merchantmen along the route.

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The sheer audacity of the scheme all but wrought success, although news of his preparations brought a monitor and two ironclads to the mouth of the Red River to block his escape, well in advance of his departure from Shreveport, April 23. After a running night fight, Read shook off these three watch dogs and approached New Orleans, in open daylight, with his ship disguised as a Federal transport, and with the Union flag at half mast because of Lincoln's death. He was almost through the New Orleans fleet before the disguise was penetrated. Another running fight ensued, which ended twenty-five miles below the city when Read found himself being chased into the waiting arms of the U. S. S. Richmond. Once again he gave his ship to the flames, and was picked up by one of his pursuers.29 There, within a few miles of where he began his meteoric career for the Confederacy, he buried all naval ambitions and handed his side arms to an officer of the "old" navy.

²⁸ Soley, Jas. R., "Closing Operations in the Gulf and Western Waters," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, IV, 412; Scharf, J. T., op. cit., 364-7, and Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXII, pp. 141-70.

EDWARD COOTE PINKNEY—AMERICAN CAVALIER POET

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LMOST alone among American poets of whatever rank. Edward Coote Pinkney wrote his exquisite lyrics without reference to Puritanism. Other American writers, almost to a man, have written with the American Puritan ethical and moral tradition definitely in mind, either by way of its support or in reaction of one degree or another from it. Bryant, Longfellow. Lowell, and most of the others were upholders of either the current or traditional Puritanism in one form or another. Holmes greatly disliked it but was satirical just enough not to injure it greatly. Our own contemporaries, like Dreiser, Anderson, and Mencken, have gone to lengths of vituperation and hate that have branded them in method at least as Puritan as the most violent of the crusading zealots of Puritanism. Even Emerson, Poe, and Whitman, working with a more detached attitude and presenting a more nearly cosmic, or in the case of Poe, a more completely differentiated individual viewpoint, were not unmindful of the conscious opposition of their works to the prevailing points of view.

Pinkney was born in London in 1802, where his father was residing on a diplomatic mission. The boy was educated in England largely and entered the navy as midshipman at the age of fifteen. Only at widely remote intervals did he spend time in the Baltimore home of the family until his resignation from the navy on the death of his father in 1823. Marriage a short time after to Miss Georgiana McCausland confirmed his residence in Baltimore and Charleston, which, however, was to last for not much over two years because of his early death in 1828. He therefore escaped the miseries of spending his best years, as did Herman Melville, in serious, eager literary endeavor, only to be spurned and repudiated by a public that would not accept him because he did not conform to its traditions. His long residence abroad, his service at sea,

and a career terminated by an early death served to give him a point of view dissociating him from Puritanism.

Poe, whose additional fourteen years of existence were merely heaped up miseries resulting from the tragedy of trying to make a materialistic populace understand the poetic expression of his exotic ideas, in addition to praising Pinkney as the greatest American lyrist, could certainly have felicitated him on his early release from certain increasing miseries. For his gift, while not so intensely individualized as was Poe's, was assuredly not of the nature to satisfy either the adherents of the traditional viewpoints or the calm opponents of a Puritanism, which after all they found much in to love, like Emerson, Hawthorne, and Holmes. Rather was his gift a quite exotic one, foreign to most American culture and tradition.

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Pinkney's gift undoubtedly admitted the influence of the English Romantics, Byron, Scott, Moore, Wordsworth, and Keats. The influence of Bryant is not undiscernable. But such diverse influences argue little in showing the dominant trend of his thought and attitude. Numerous parallels to each of the above named poets may be cited from his works: but they are parallels rather of phrase than of profound attitude of mind, and reveal only a young and inexperienced writer grasping for felicities of expression of which he is not yet master. In the things which are distinctly Pinkney's, those exquisite lyrics that show the true bent of his genius, there is little or no echo of any of the Romantics, either in thought or in phrase. Rather does he hark back to the Caroline period of the Cavalier English poets and show the spirit of Lovelace, Suckling, and Carewe, without, indeed, showing the specific influence of any one or of all of them. His gift is his own, one that grew out of his own inner consciousness, out of his personal predilections, and out of the traditions of his family.

It is unusual to find a poet apparently so completely disassociated from the spirit of his times. Yet the dissociation is only apparent. Of the spirit of rebellion that characterized the Romantic movement of the first part of last century against the civilization of a preceding age, there is nothing in Pinkney. Even of the spirit that is conscious of rebellion against an established order and desires to maintain the status of that order in the face of change, there is nothing in Pinknev. He is not the champion of the existing Revolutionary civilization that flourished so exquisitely along the sea-coast of America, from the Carolinas to New York, and which was not entirely destroyed until the Civil War, nor indeed is he the champion of anything else. He is rather the expression of that civilization, its perfect flower, flourishing unconscious that it flourishes at all, simply enjoying itself in the abundance and assurance of its existence, questioning nothing, either itself or the forces that rise against it. He is in this particular comparable to Frances Hopkinson in his earlier work, before the burdens of a political career and the necessity of thinking in terms of changing social and political conditions caused him to lose the early grace and assured beauty

of trifles like "My Gen'rous Heart Disdains."

Pinkney's birth into a Maryland family of distinction undoubtedly furnished the background for his Cavalier attitude. His long dissociation from the rapidly changing points of view in American life, which, indeed, during his lifetime were fairly well stabilized by the succession of Virginia and Massachusetts aristocratic-republican Presidents, only intensified the traditions of that birth and did nothing to indicate to his mind that change was pending or that indeed it could impend. Until a few years ago there existed, and perhaps still exist. in parts of Maryland not far from Baltimore, charming relics of an old civilization that has withstood the changes and vicissitudes of time, with little alteration in points of view and general attitude toward a system of living that reverts to the days of good King Charles. It is in essence a pure aristocracy. It is urbane, gracious, assured; ready to make love impetuously or to fight equally impetuously and whole-heartedly; it looks at life not as a problem to be solved nor as a game to be beat, but as a privilege bestowed by God upon his favored ones. It is religious, though it says very little about religion. which it takes as a matter of course. It is kind and humanitarian, treating its servants with justice and a large degree of kindliness that amounts almost to a sort of apparent equality. It has little arrogance of position and advantage, which it feels, if it thinks about the matter at all, have been bestowed, like all earth's blessings and curses, upon righteous and unrighteous alike. With the Roman Horace, it recognizes Death, as well as Life, knocking with equal foot at the door of palace and hovel, and with Horace, also, it is not concerned with the vagaries of either life or death and never feels that it is its business or its opportunity to meddle with what the gods have ordained. In a word, its satisfaction and assurance with life are as medieval as the system of theology on which it was founded, which believed in a somewhat remote imitation of Plato's, "As it is in heaven, so it is on earth"; and its practical assurance of itself is as medieval as is the system of ground-rents in Baltimore which has so long given the city a financial foundation and continuance.

It has its codes of honor, its rigorous disciplines, which are joyously undertaken because of the satisfactions they inevitably bring. It prefers the balance and poise of the Greek to the repression of the Puritan. Because it believes in the Golden Mean, it finds codes of honor rather than systems of morality, the first of which bind the individual, whereas the latter bind the group, the most inviting system of discipline. Its discipline, therefore, is one of the individual imposed by the personal acceptance of its code, promising personal satisfaction in its performance, and more attractive than the discipline of public will, imposed by a majority in the name of God. What Vernon Parrington has mistakenly named its Puritanism in his discussion of the writers of the Charleston group has only the disciplinary appearance of Puritanism, not its foundational urge. All the good things of life it approves of. It is healthily fond of its things to eat and drink, its horses, its hounds, its pleasures of material existence. All the gifts of life are abundantly used, nothing is eschewed, if in the using it can prove the strength of its power to master them and use them to its own advantage.

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Here is the cultural heritage of Pinkney, as it is of the Cavalier wherever found. The Cavalier as a rule writes little. because he has no problems to write about. It takes a problem to form the basis of a discussion. If he does write, as he sometimes does, it is either because the full expression of his existence has been dammed back somewhere, or because he happens to have some spark of that divine afflatus of genius which kindles where it listeth and has no respect for systems of civilization. For the Cavalier the most potent source of damming is in love matters. The old system of courtly love, which bourgeois Jean de Meun so broadly satirized in the latter part of "The Romance of the Rose," was a part of the heritage of the original Cavalier and held almost without change through the vicissitudes of Cavalier existence in America. Hence Cavalier poetry is almost always love poetry. The repressions of the emotion imposed by the system cause the poet to give written expression to his dammed-up pas-Troilus, restraining his love for Cressida, falls into uncontrollable fits of fainting and profuse prostration because he has no way of expressing his passion. In a later age, when middle class women, accustomed for centuries to free expression of their passions, come by reason of financial elevation into the higher class which was under the imposition of the restraints of the courtly system of love applied so long through the ages to courtly dwellers in towered Camelots, they fall into the faints depicted in the novels of Miss Burney and Miss Austen. They had no means of freeing themselves through the gentle art of poesy. Pinkney had the gift of this method of release. Therefore most of his poetry consists of exquisite love lyrics addressed to the lady who became his wife.

Of the forty poems and fragments of items which make up the total collection of Pinkney's poetic output, very much more than half deal with the subject of love. Thus, eleven are addressed, or claimed by the lady herself to have been addressed, to Miss Georgiana McCausland, who became his wife. Six are addressed to Miss Mary Hawkins, an early sweet-

heart. Five are addressed to various ladies, and two, including his long poem, "Rodolph," are on the general subject of love. Three poems celebrate contemporary events, three depend upon history for their inspiration, with the immortality of love as the central theme of the magnificent ode, "The Voyager's Song." One deals with his own personal attitude toward the world, and one, "Invitation and Reply," is a splendid drinking song in the pure Cavalier manner. Of the remainder, including fragments, there is one each on the subject of his mother's reverence for his father, one that grew out of an incident in his navy career, and one on the general subject of death. It will be seen, however, that the great preponderance of subject favors the theme of love, and for the most part the subject is treated from the Cavalier viewpoint of personal experience.

Of the poems addressed to Mary Hawkins there is the beautiful lyric, "We Break the Glass," one of the best known of Pinkney's poems. It is characteristic of Pinkney's, and of Cavalier poetry in general, that it considers love as an exquisite emotion of life, calling, not for sighs and groans or for philosophizing concerning its evanescence or its grief, but for a beautiful gesture of well-trained men and women expressing itself in symbols devised after the courtly tradition to make life and love a part of the delightful business of living.

We break the glass, whose sacred wine
To some beloved health we drain,
Lest future pledges, less divine,
Should e'er the hallowed toy profane;
And thus I broke a heart, that poured
Its tide of feeling out to thee,
In draughts, by after-times deplored,
Yet dear to memory.

But still the old empassioned ways
And habits of my mind remain,
And still unhappy light displays
Thine image chambered in my brain,
And still it looks as when the hours
Went by like flights of singing birds,
Or that soft chain of spoken flowers,
And airy gems, thy words.

The characteristic note sounded in this poem, that love is a matter of exquisite intellectual apprehension rather than the deep longing of the heart, which characterizes the courtly rather than the romantic gesture toward love, is struck again in the beautiful, but somewhat uneven "Picture Song," also addressed to Miss Hawkins, especially in this exquisite figure in the last stanza:

Apollo placed his harp, of old, awhile upon a stone,
Which has resounded since, when struck, a breaking harpstring's tone;
And thus my heart, though wholly now from early softness
free,
If touched, will yield the music yet, it first received of thee.

The same (to the true Romantic) somewhat hard and intellectual apprehension of love, is seen in "Lines from the Portfolio of (Miss Hawkins)." We have here the heartbroken lover who can nevertheless contemplate metaphysically the results of the ravage to his emotions. The exquisite music that Pinkney put into beautiful conceits of love is evident no less in "Serenade" than it is in those exquisite trifles from Provençe, France and the England of the Cavaliers. The clear sweet loveliness of these lines has scarcely been surpassed.

Look out upon the stars, my love,
And shame them with thine eyes,
On which, than on the lights above,
There hang more destinies.
Night's beauty is the harmony
Of blending shades and light:
Then, Lady, up,—look out, and be
A sister of the night!—

Sleep not! thine image wakes for aye,
Within my watching breast:
Sleep not!—from her soft sleep should fly,
Who robs all hearts of rest.
Nay, Lady, from thy slumbers break,
And make this darkness gay,
With looks, whose brightness well might make
Of darker nights a day.

One naturally does not find any more pure passion in the poems addressed to Georgiana McCausland. The Cavalier measure of passion, however, is there, namely; the music and the depth of exquisiteness in the labored conceit. The successful Cavalier lover was ever the man of achievement. achievement either of war or of intellectual brilliance. Simplicity and genuineness of emotional expression were sought for by Wordsworth and his Romantic followers in the primitiveness and directness of simple rural life; were found by Moore in the passionate directness and energy of the Celtic life and imagination; and by Byron in the sensuous passionateness of his own nature and of the Orient. They were mistakenly sought for among the intellectual artifices of medieval courtly life by Walter Scott, and so mistakenly imposed upon middle-class Englishmen and American Southerners as the genuine expression of emotional honesty and righteousness. This is a vastly different thing from the intention of true early nineteenth-century romanticism, although in our South, due to the influence of Scott, it has long passed for such. Pinkney was of the medieval courtly tradition without owing any allegiance to Scott or without needing any inspiration from him. The sole poem of Pinkney's that shows decidedly any of Scott's influence is the "Song," which is quoted entire for comparison with the strictly Cavalier "A Health," which follows on the next page.

Day departs this upper air,
My lively, lovely lady;
And the eve-star sparkles fair,
And our good steeds are ready.
Leave, leave these loveless halls,
So lordly though they be;
Come, come—affection calls—
Away at once with me!

Sweet thy words in sense as sound,
And gladly do I hear them;
Though thy kinsmen are around,
And tamer bosoms fear them.
Mount, mount,—I'll keep thee, dear,
In safety as we ride;—
On, on—my heart is here,
My sword is at my side.

The naïve braggadocio and bravado of this sort of thing is foreign to the true Cavalier, although it is the essence of the Scott tradition. Pinkney rarely let himself be betrayed into the sham and pinchbeck bravado that a middle-class following in England and America mistook in Scott for the genuine. The most characteristic of Pinkney's Cavalier lyrics, next to "We Break the Glass," is "A Health," addressed to Georgiana. The dashing brilliance, the gay assurance of power and ability to charm and win, the lilt of exquisite music, which in its rhythms reflects the assured and harmonious rhythms of the life of the courtly aristocrat, smooth and elegant as court life at Versailles or at the court of Queen Anne, that rather successful middle-class imitation—a music without either the monotony of ordinary life or the deeps of tragedy and heights of inspired passion of the true Romantics.

I fill this cup to one made up of loveliness alone, A woman, of her gentle sex the seeming paragon; To whom the better elements and kindly stars have given, A form so fair, that like the air, 'tis less of earth than heaven.

Her every tone is music's own, like those of morning birds, And something more than melody dwells ever in her words; The coinage of her heart are they, and from her lips each flows

As one may see the burthened bee forth issue from the rose.

Affections are as thoughts to her, the measures of her hours; Her feelings have the fragrancy, the freshness, of young flowers;

And lovely passions, changing oft, so fill her, she appears The image of themselves by turns,—the idol of past years!

Of her bright face one glance will trace a picture on the brain,

And of her voice in echoing hearts a sound must long remain, But memory such as mine of her so very much endears, When death is nigh my latest sigh will not be life's but hers.

I filled this cup to one made up of loveliness alone, A woman, of her gentle sex the seeming paragon— Her health! and would on earth there stood some more of such a frame,

That life might be all poetry, and weariness a name.

The same mental passion is seen in the poem "To (Georgiana)," suggested by Wordsworth's "She Was a Phantom of Delight."

Accept this portraiture of,
Revealed to Wordsworth in a dream—
One less immortal stays with me,
Whose airy hues thine own may seem:
Mental reflections of thy light,
A rainbow beautiful and bright;
A shining lamp of constant ray,
To which my fancy shall be slave;
A shaping that cannot decay,
Until it moulder in my grave.

This is the passion of the courtly lover that is

All breathing human passion far above That leaves a heart high sorrowful and cloyed, A burning forehead and a parching tongue.

There is one somewhat decided departure from the true Cavalier tone. "The Indian's Bride," a poem celebrating the marriage at Cornwall, Connecticut, of John Ridge, a Cherokee Indian, and Miss Sarah Northrup, Pinkney makes the means of a praise of true love in quite the manner of the romantic French conception of Indian life. The incident appealed to Pinkney, who is said to have remarked concerning the romance, "Ah, this, indeed, is love." The appeal of this romantic conception of love, however, may have been due in part to Pinkney's own situation at the time of the composition of the poem, for he was about to marry a lady who could hardly have appealed greatly to his family. However beautiful she may have been and however charming, there is always to be remembered that she was the daughter of an Irish brewer, not long in Baltimore. Pinkney was about to defy conventions, and the defiance was further complicated by the marriage by a Baptist minister. In the Baltimore of that elder day and in families of the Pinkney type, neither defiance was one that could be lightly passed over. That there was little comment in the family annals was only a part of the genteel tradition that would say very little but feel much. After this

there is no evidence other than that the poet mines anew the former vein of courtly love.

But even courtly love does not always run smooth, and there is in it a convention to fit its grief as well as to fit its triumph. It is in "Rodolph," by far Pinkney's longest poem and his most ambitious, that he recounts the story of disappointed and thwarted love. It is noteworthy, however, that this is not a lyric expression, but is conceived in more nearly the manner of the Gothic romance of a somewhat earlier period. Pinkney was apparently but lightly personally acquainted with his theme, for although he had had one unsuccessful love affair, that with Mary Hawkins, he dismissed it in airy Cavalier fashion, not without a sigh, to be sure, but certainly with little of the grief of thwarted passion.

Rodolph loves a married woman. He kills her husband. The lady seeks a convent cell.

Thrice blest, that she the waves among Of ebbing pleasure staid not long, To watch the sullen tide, and find The hideous shapings left behind.

Then the lady also dies. Rodolph seeks far and wide for pleasure, but cannot find it. He becomes insane, and in his last imaginings fancies he sees her in the beauties of life about him. At last he, too, dies.

None wept o'er his bier, Although above such things we weep, And rest obtains the useless tear, Due rather to the state of sleep;— For why?—because the common faith Of passion is averse from death.

The courtly tradition is broken, however, mainly in the incidents of the story only. In these last somewhat awkward lines, imperfectly carrying the burden of their thought, is still the courtly attitude toward love: "None wept . . . because the common faith of passion is averse from death." In spite of his Cavalier heritage, Pinkney lived too far away from Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale," with its story of per-

fect courtly love and its naïvely sincere concluding question, "Now which of the two loved her best?" for him to repeat unadorned that courtly tale. Through the centuries religious morality had too profoundly entered into and modified the courtly tradition even among the Cavaliers; but inherently Pinkney reflects the medieval courtly exultation of passion. Death must ensue for all, but there is no blaming of Rodolph. and passion lives on immortal, even in death. The great story of Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, with its dire and potent punishment of a too hot love, had set the fashion of a modified tradition. To those, therefore, who in the name of morality would have demanded the death of Rodolph for his crime, Pinkney grants satisfaction. The lady is needlessly sacrificed from the viewpoint even of the moralist. Pinkney's intention. however, is made clear in his assertion of the deathlessness of passion in the last lines of his poem.

There remains not much else in the small output of this poet of charming lyrics to note. But wherever we may turn, there is always the insouciant Cavalier charm. Even the single moralistic piece to be found in Pinkney's poetry, the much quoted "Evergreens," is turned with a bright little compliment to a lady. A delightful little drinking song, composed impromptu, carries to the end the gay carelessness of the Cavalier life. It is good enough to be in every anthology of convivial verse, for it carries through so joyously the best traditions of gentlemanly imbibing.

INVITATION AND REPLY

Come, fill, my friend, the bumper bright, And give a parting pledge to sorrow, Let's very merry be tonight, And what the Gods decree to-morrow.

If I must fill more bumpers bright,
I give indeed a pledge to sorrow,
For I shall be dead drunk to-night.
And sick as death itself to-morrow.

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It is a mistake, then, to class Pinkney with the Romantics without qualification. What they assumed as part of an atti-

tude was with him an inborn tradition. There is in his poetry no preoccupation with nature, nor with individualism, nor with the rights and wrongs of the down-trodden. He is wholly medieval, not a reversion, but in the sense that the civilization of which he was a part was in essence a medieval civilization. Pinkney belonged to its best tradition, a rare example of the courtly aristocrat who broke into song.

GAMALIEL BRADFORD: A SEARCHER OF SOULS

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SEARCHER of souls quite recently turned his attention to a worker in souls. There was published more than a year ago Gamaliel Bradford's latest biographic study, his life of the American evangelist, D. L. Moody. Mr. Bradford then added to his already large gallery a portrait of still another type of man-the man who went through life asking the world one question and one question only, "Are you a Christian?" Once again the biographer's fine intelligence caused him fairly and satisfactorily to deal with a subject with whom many authors would have dispensed flippantly, and whom other writers would have regarded too solemnly. He has presented D. L. Moody as the priest whose God lived "right around the corner"; the man of humor, kindly yet a little crude; the delightful father; the shrewd bargainer; and the preacher whose life compares favorably with that of Saint Francis of Assissi.

And in his most recent book, Life and I, An Autobiography of Humanity,² Mr. Bradford has revealed his soul, your soul, my soul—the soul of mankind—the "mutinous, rebellious, all-engrossing I" that "obtrudes everywhere its unconquerable, indestructible predominance." He has explained his willingness to give us most of his reactions to life in order that we may realize many of our own, impelled by the fact that men can communicate in the publicity of the market-place secrets which they cannot disclose in the privacy of home. The author and the reader share, he knows, the "old, old desire to blend myself in yourself."

Souls have been Gamaliel Bradford's stock in trade for forty years. He has discovered souls and explored them and written down his findings for interested and eager readers. He has quoted Saint-Beuve whom he deeply admires, and

¹D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls, George H. Doran Co., 1927. ² Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.

whose name frequently appears in his work: "I analyze, I herborize, I am a naturalist of souls." Mr. Bradford has the patience, the ability, the conscience to delve into the "inner, hidden, mysterious machinery so cunningly and completely masked behind the solid, compact covering of flesh and blood," and to report accurately and with sympathetic understanding his own observations. He has searched the souls of men as different in fibre as Saint Francis, Phineas Barnum, and Aaron Burr. Mr. Bradford has been inclined to question the desirability of his self-imposed task. He shudders slightly, he assures us, at the thought of removing a man from his "quiet grave, where he might have slept with his virtues and vices wrapt peacefully around him, and gibbeting him forever before a gaping posterity in creaking chains of ignominy."

But it has not been Gamaliel Bradford's custom merely to display an exhumed corpse and expose the covering of "vices and virtues." He has, on the contrary, entered the various halls of fame and breathed the breath of life into scores of statues. Mr. Bradford has included among his subjects men of letters, statesmen, and warriors—to say nothing of their wives. He has nearly always succeeded in humanizing the Flauberts, the Grover Clevelands, and the Stonewall Jacksons. Yet his appreciation of the little incidents as valuable indices of character has never once caused him to degenerate into a sort of literary gossip. And his necessary research for material is never obtrusive. We do not feel that Mr. Bradford has spent years closeted with dusty volumes in order to picture for us Ovid, or Madame du Deffand, or James Madison. Somehow we are sure that he has come to know these people whom he has selected to portray as we know relatives. neighbors, friends.

Men in different fields of activity and comparative inactivity have interested Gamaliel Bradford; but he confesses to his readers at the completion of *Union Portraits*³ and *Confederate Portraits*⁴ that after having spent fifteen years "in the study of these practical natures that did things either in

⁸ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916.

⁴ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914.

war or in statesmanship," he begins "positively to thirst for spirits of another type." While in the chapters on famous leaders he is as unbiased and sympathetic as mortal can be, the reader is absolutely conscious of the fact that a succession of Northern statesmen and Confederate generals fails to stimulate the author as does a group composed of, for example, Whistler, Lamb, and Lanier.

Some lives are "studded thick" with the "jewels of self-revelation." The souls of most men, however, are hard to get at. Letters, Mr. Bradford believes, afford the best "clue to the labyrinth of souls." In them "the surface of life is torn apart and we read bare soul." The formal letters of Matthew Arnold or Robert E. Lee furnish the psychographer with little material: but those of Edward Fitzgerald, Voltaire, Thomas Grey, Horace Walpole, and of other writers of letters in which hearts and minds are poured out, reveal much of the inner man—much of the person who actually exists.

In his Diary Samuel Pepys wrote, of course, more freely and frankly than any letter-writer to a correspondent. After all, letters are to be read, but diaries in cipher are, presumably. intended only for their authors' eyes. With that most intimate journal, the Pepysian Diary, Mr. Bradford lived for thirty years before writing the biography of its author. Through its pages he had come to know the Diarist as a companionable friend. He approached, therefore, the writing of The Soul of Samuel Pepys plainly prejudiced in his subject's favor. His attitude toward Pepys is that of a sympathetic adult toward a naughty child. The attachment is strong, the tenderness apparent. A good many times throughout the book, with nothing short of bravery, the author casts aside the protecting cloak in which he was about to envelope Pepvs, and shows the worst. From the beginning until the closing chapter we sense the writer's fairness at all costs. We see a man of surprising goodness and a man of "utter immorality," a naïve man and a cynical man, a being composed of contradictions. Above all, we see a man of amazing conscience and honesty, the two virtues which, at least in part, account for the writing

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⁵ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924.

of the Diary. The Samuel Pepys whom Mr. Bradford knows stands before us.

If the author approached Pepvs in the attitude of a most affectionate parent toward a rather erring child. Gamaliel Bradford approached Darwin in the attitude of an adoring child toward a quite ideal parent. Darwine is a comparatively recent book: but the man studied and his revolutionizing theory have existed for Mr. Bradford since, at the age of sixteen, he came upon the Origin of the Species and found his universe wrecked. Probably few formulists and their theories have played as great a part in his mental life as Charles Darwin and the theory of evolution. Indeed, the reader is inclined to feel that the biographer takes the Darwinian theory, which he never seems for one paragraph completely able to forget. a bit overseriously. One wishes that Mr. Bradford had at least occasionally removed the scientific halo which he has placed above the head of the humble, lovable scholar. Nevertheless, Darwin the man, due to the skill of the pen-portraitist, is not overshadowed by Darwin the scientist. Mr. Bradford actually called to life Charles Robert Darwin, as previously he had called to life Robert E. Lee and Samuel Pepvs, and later was to call to life Dwight L. Moody. That a quartette composed of a gentleman scholar, a gentleman warrior, a robust evangelist, and a lovable rogue has sufficiently interested the biographer to induce him to devote an entire volume to each man, and that he has been able to portray the four characters sympathetically, and according to his light, accurately, would seem to prove that Gamaliel Bradford understands, as well as Saint-Beuve understood, both the "Christian and the hero."

But readers do miss in these longer studies the rare hand of the artist who holds a place in his field shared by few. A good many authors write successful long biographies; but it takes an artist of superior talent to capture souls that "tremble and shift and fade under the touch," and successfully to present them in fifteen or twenty or less pages of print. Even Lee the American, in which, of the detailed biographies, the

⁶ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926. ⁷ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912.

author probably best achieves his purpose, might, one feels certain, have been written by a less skilled portraitist. dozen generals, on the other hand, who as men mean far, far less to Mr. Bradford than Robert E. Lee, are depicted in brief chapters more artistically, more clearly, more perfectly in every way, than the Confederate general to whose life his biographer gives so much time and space. One must rate Gamaliel Bradford as a finer miniaturist than life-size portraitist. As the former he has proved his ability in an exceptional way dozens of times. One ventures to hope that he has now decided to stick to his own branch of concise biographic art, and that he will not again be tempted to try even the semi-critical, semibiographical type of essay for which Mr. Bradford tested his fitness in several chapters of A Naturalist of Souls.8 Pure revelation of soul rather than criticism of work is the author's forte.

Gamaliel Bradford's attitude toward these countless souls whom he has analyzed is one of never-failing sympathy. If he is too often inclined to seek excuse for the foibles and sins of his subjects, we are at least grateful for the fact that he does not assume the rôle of a God judging mankind, but remembers that weak flesh is depicting weak flesh. Mr. Bradford is likewise incapable of patronage; but at the same time the most pious priest or bravest soldier does not overwhelm him. recognizes the man under the cassock, and the soul concealed by the uniform. And he possesses that enviable faculty for catching the viewpoint of all manner of men. Possibly Gamaliel Bradford's statement about Mary Lyon is as comprehensive a one as could be made about the psychographer himself: "She knew the heart, or at least knew that none of us knows it." Mr. Bradford does not put too much faith in his own psychographs. Again and again he tells us that they lack "final value." He is keenly aware of the truth that no one of us can be sure of knowing "the heart," the quintessence of the man's being.

It is particularly interesting to note the effect that this company of souls has had upon the biographer himself. Robert

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⁸ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

E. Lee, whose life he finds to be of the highest possible standard, and with whom he compares a good many of the characters (usually to their disadvantage) made, Mr. Bradford affirms, a better man of him. His strong, strong love for Lee is especially evident in Confederate Portraits. For the study of Mark Twain,9 on the contrary, whose work lacks "sunshine" and the "highest comedy," he was made a little the worse man. Frances Willard and Charles Sumner sorely irritated him, Mr. Bradford frankly states. He has a not uncommon antipathy to reformers. Years of discipline, however, have taught Gamaliel Bradford amazingly well to control his prejudices, strong and troublesome though they may be. The study10 of that lady who "contracted an abhorrence for whiskey which supplied her for life with a more eager stimulant than whiskey could possibly have furnished," is as fair a study as the one of Dolly Madison. 11 And the chapter on Charles Sumner, 12 who boasted "six feet odd of luxurious platform manner," is nearly as unbiased as the one on Henry Iames. 18 whom the author considers the "greatest of American novelists." Just once have I been able to discover Mr. Bradford piqued, irritated, and making little or no effort to control his annoyance. In the study of Henry Adams14 the writer's disgust finds its way into every paragraph. The brilliant autobiographer stands before us flinging his "trumpet challenge to the universe: 'Here am I. Henry Adams. I defy you to educate me. You cannot do it!' Apparently, by his own reiterated and triumphant declaration, the universe, after the most humiliating efforts, could not." And Mr. Bradford, acknowledging his profound admiration for the Autobiography, turns his back upon its author and salutes the universe.

There are, of course, those souls to whom the psychographer especially responds; to whose lives he tingles and thrills. In Joseph Jefferson, Whistler, Keats, Lamb, and Lanier, and in other spirits of similar stamp, as has been suggested, Mr.

See American Portraits, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.

[&]quot;See American Women, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916.

¹¹ See Wives, Harper and Brothers, 1924.

¹² See American Portraits.

¹² Ibid.

[&]quot; Ibid.

Bradford revels. He has the most sincere respect and deep admiration for "practical natures." He makes no attempt to brand any of his characters the Babbits of their day, nor to place them on the Main Street of their time. His business is not to caricature. He is dealing with individuals rather than with types. Phillip Guedalla, in his scintillating Supers and Supermen, 15 looking down at P. T. Barnum from a rather lofty position, presents a person of cheap principle, a humbug of Babbits; but he utterly fails to make the circus owner live. In drawing a caricature he has no time to humanize. Gamaliel Bradford shows us in Damaged Souls16 the egotistic, self-content, complacent Barnum who took life rather as a vulgar joke. We actually see the good-natured old man riding around the circus shouting, "I'm Mr. Barnum." Discernment is one of the heights of biographic art; patronage one of its depths.

But the author's enthusiasm for Whistler,17 whose nature lacked the "light and careless saturation of sunshine." characteristic of his emblem, the butterfly, animates every sentence of the study. His delight in Joseph Jefferson, 18 whose face seemed "as if generations of laughter had kneaded it to the perfect expression of all pathos and gayety," fires the portrait of the actor, as the "supreme" beauty of Keats19 permeates the chapter on that poet. The expository biography of Sidney Lanier, 20 whose poetry and music are very vital things to Mr. Bradford, is, indeed, a "shred of Lanier's heart."

And in the studies of these artistic natures to whose souls Gamaliel Bradford's own soul seems well attuned, the author is extraordinarily fortunate in the style which "follows" his thought. Mr. Bradford's genius (of which I am sure he is not wholly conscious) for adapting his style and form to his subject matter is never quite so evident as when he is portraying his "favorites." To be sure, we do sound the black depths of William Cowper's "waiting hell";21 and we hear General

¹⁵ G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924. ¹⁴ Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.

[&]quot; See American Portraits.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Bare Souls, Harper and Brothers, 1924.

²⁰ See American Portraits.

[&]quot; See Bare Souls.

Sherman²² buzzing through life like a "bumble bee" with a purpose. But in a remarkably clear way we watch Charles Lamb²³ navigate his "light ship with every dancing wind that blows" as we feel the airy lightness of the man's whim and fancy: and we are carried through the spiritual whirlwind of Lanier's life. I have often re-read several times a sentence in one of the biographic studies, with little thought for the content, merely because the sound of the words in the order

arranged conveyed an idea, a spirit, a mood.

The new edition of A Naturalist of Souls includes a study of the Earl of Clarendon. During the discussion of the early English pen-portraitist we come upon this statement which might have been made about Mr. Bradford's own technique. "The chief danger which besets the painter of souls is rhetoric. Words are his instruments. He must keep them polished. must get from them all their resources of music and power, study them, profit by them always with fertile variety and endless inspiration. But they must be his servants, not his masters. . . . The instant we feel that he is thinking more of his effects than of his characters, that tricks of speech are more to him than secrets of soul, that instant we lose our confidence." Gamaliel Bradford consistently lives up to his own affirmation in his writing. No man better practices his preaching. Many of his biographic studies are shot through with lovely beauty. And he enjoys turning a clever phrase as well as any man. But soul is primary, and rhetoric secondary. He has taught himself to combine "veracity and vivacity." Saint-Beuve, who was perhaps the first psychographer, did his finest work, Mr. Bradford believes, when he portrayed The later psychographer searched the masculine women. soul for some thirty years before he ventured to study the feminine one. Since that time he has published three volumes of feminine portraits, in which too frequently chivalry has been allowed to spare female subjects as their fathers or husbands or brothers were not spared.

³⁰ See Union Portraits.

[&]quot; See Bare Souls.

When Gamaliel Bradford comes upon a woman of sparkling mind, he portrays her in pages that sparkle and glitter; but he is concerned as well in the portrayal of the comparatively simple homely life of an Abigail Adams or a Mrs. Samuel Pepys. Unfortunately, material is not usually available for delineating the quiet, domestic characters. Those whose days have been almost wholly given over to "baking, brewing, and breeding" seldom leave much record of their lives behind them. "The psychography of queens and artists and authors and saints is little, if any, more interesting" than that of "average" women, Mr. Bradford tells us. Nevertheless, as a rule it is possible to portray only those women who have lived "exceptional lives." And what unsatisfactory work the pen-portraitist must do without adequate and reliable material, the studies of Mrs. Lincoln²⁴ and Mrs. Pepys²⁵ bear witness.

The author's appreciation of woman's domestic cares is very acute. The feminine reader is quick to grasp this. He understands that woman's life is too likely to be filled with smallnesses, both avoidable and unavoidable; and in Mr. Bradford's extensive study he has observed the effects of good and evil that these domestic details have upon the feminine soul.

The generous regard in which he holds the feminine mind, also, is not shared by all members of his sex. In the preface to one of his books, Mr. Bradford strongly intimates that woman may "end by the subjugation of our intelligence", that "feminine supremacy" may obtain. The most ardent feminist could not find fault with Gamaliel Bradford's rating of woman's mind. Yet I see the author just a little surprised, just a little startled, at the mental powers possessed by some of the women portrayed. He seems to be holding up these minds as things of wonder, admiring them, and unconsciously admitting that in his heart of hearts he never quite believed that feminine intellect was made of such stuff. This is most noticeable in the first, less in the second, and scarcely at all

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³⁴ See Wives.

³⁵ See Portraits of Women, 1916.

in the third book devoted to women. Nine years of research have practically destroyed what is perhaps an inherited prejudice, but not one peculiar to Mr. Bradford's New England stock.

Whether men or women, long dead or recently alive, Gamaliel Bradford's characters claim an important place in his own life. They live on with him. They are, as it were, his literary family. In his studies he is constantly comparing one with another, discussing their points of similarity and dissimilarity. Lee suggests Xenophon and Darwin; Pliny, Pepys; Stonewall Jackson, John Donne. John Randolph reminds one of Cowper; Mrs. Blaine, of Emily Dickinson; Darwin, of Leopardi; Alexander H. Stephens, of Voltaire. And so it goes on in all of the studies. Moody, his biographer tells us, was through with men as soon as he had converted them. Not so speedily can Mr. Bradford dispose of his souls. He is not done with his subjects once he has painted their portraits. They stick to him rather like faithful shadows to enrich, broaden, and stimulate his mind and experience.

Thirteen years ago, enthused as an explorer over a discovery, Gamaliel Bradford wrote a foreword (to the early edition of A Naturalist of Souls) in which he explained at greater length than he had previously the then comparatively new form of biographic essay, its significance and origin, its debt to Saint-Beuve. As one reads the explanatory note he smiles to think how little Mr. Bradford now speaks and apparently thinks of the word "psychograph," and how much he thought and even spoke of it when the preface was written. In the perfecting of his art, Gamaliel Bradford has, happily,

almost forgotten the term.

THE "MOVIE" MENTALITY

ROBERT WITHINGTON Northampton, Massachusetts

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TT IS, perhaps, no new discovery that the lineal descendant Lof the old dime-novel is the moving picture, as we have it today; but the parallel is the more striking after one has read several of the old thrillers. The way the authors pile up difficulty after difficulty in the path of the hero; the blind spots which prevent the good characters from seeing the machinations of the bad, until such point as the author has chosen for the unravelling of his plot; the invariable "happy ending," which is sometimes sudden; the melodramatic whiteness of the good people, and the unrelieved blackness of the bad; the surface-humor which brings a ready laugh, and the pathos which starts the equally ready tear,—all these are found in both forms of art, the key-word of which is "action, action, and more action." And the wide appreciation which both get is an indication of the undeveloped mentality of many who find "reality" and "the disagreeable" synonymous terms, and seek an escape from the routine of every-day life in the romanticism of an impossible existence.

The purpose of good literature is (aside from the pleasure it gives) to interpret life; and many of us have enjoyed various experiences vicariously before we met them in propria persona. It is also true that the more experience we have of life, the better fitted we are to judge the ability of the novelist to portray it. If this "virtuous"—not vicious—circle holds, those readers who are interested in human conduct, in psychology (though recently a science, psychology is as old as human behavior), in the way men think and feel in varying circumstances, and in the effect of environment on character (to say nothing of heredity!) demand more than a record of thrilling events. But from the days of the first story-teller, there have always been plenty of auditors for a tale of action, and the number is now greater than ever.

The dangers of such literature—and such pictures—are not so much in themselves, as in the point of view they give

birth to. It is natural that the reader should take part in the story: he often identifies himself with one of the characters about whom he reads or whom he sees-usually the hero or heroine, naturally enough; for it is with him or her that the author wishes his reader's sympathy. However villainous we may be in "real life," we rarely sympathize with the villain in a book: we see ourselves as the heroes of our own lives. and like to imagine ourselves the embodiment of youth, vigor, beauty, gentleness, strength, cleverness, kindness, and rectitude which hero and heroine invariable are. Triumphing over every obstacle—the more there are, the greater the triumph we lose ourselves in the story; but do we return to the workaday world with renewed strength for our own struggle? increased zest for the routine of work? or a joy in the fact that our difficulties are not all smoothed out? If not, it is possibly because we are not convinced that in life the happy ending is assured; though we go on hoping—be the clouds never so black-that all will come out right in the end.

If our reading of these books, and our attendance at these plays did give us new courage, the "movie" mentality would justify itself. If the movies do not mirror life, perhaps life would come to resemble the movies, and that would amount to the same thing. Impossible situations would become probable: impossible people would be met daily; the world would be turned upside down, and nobody would do any work. The routine of labor is not exciting: the day at the office rarely has any thrills. The movie-and the dime-novel-usually deal with people whose lives have no routine: the "idle rich" or the crook, the cowboy at exciting periods of his career, the gambler when Justice pursues, the railway mail-clerk fighting off the hold-up men, not sorting letters. We suffer painlessly—when the hero or his friend is shot; we rejoice (so does the mental, or the moral, stifle the physical) when the villain is wounded; we gasp delightedly when the heroine, on horseback, slides down a precipice, or the detective, bull'seve in hand, explores the maze of a deserted mine, hunting the criminal.

Perhaps these shudders show our sheltered life. We have so little excitement that we seek to make good our loss at the "movies." To us, literature and life are two different things: one is an escape from the other—an anodyne, which causes us to forget the empty existence we lead. In these days, we don't make our own music—we turn on the radio; we don't ride horseback—we watch a movie hero do it, and get a thrill, when his horse rears, almost as great as if we were riding. We have little life that needs interpreting: all is simple work, motoring, golf, bridge, eating, and sleeping. We do not realize how happy it is until it is interfered with by a war or a flood, or something. But undoubtedly it is monotonous, and the dime-novel-movie is our refuge.

And this, says the optimist, is better than starting trouble on our own account.

If we are crossed in love, do we turn to literature to see how our favorite hero would behave in the circumstances? Do we observe our movie-hero dealing with the pangs of unrequited love? It might be difficult to find him in that situation unless the girl was unworthy of him—but can we argue from that that our girl is not worthy of us, and take comfort accordingly? If we are betrayed in business, do we show the magnanimity of the cheated hero, who is only too willing to begin at the bottom again to build another fortune? If all we own is wiped out by raging waters or roaring flames (the adjectives are interchangeable), do we smile as if it were a matter of no consequence, uproot ourselves, and ride out to a new future in the light of a fading sunset? If we do, the "movie" mentality has justified itself, and reflects our life.

A recent writer on Japan has recorded that all the moving pictures which have failed to pass our censors are shipped to Japan, China, and India, and give to the people there a distorted idea of American life and ideals. We know, of course, that the movies do not reflect either—even those which have passed the censors; and yet, I wonder. . . . Do many of our poorer fellow-citizens, as they throng the picture-theatres, or pore over the stories in the cheaper magazines and newspapers, think that "high life" is accurately represented to

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them? Did Richardson's readers find in Pamela and Squire B— real figures from life? Were they encouraged to think that the bridge from low to high station could be crossed so easily? In the twentieth century, and in America, opportunity beckons to a larger public, and the bridge between poverty and riches is being crossed (in both directions) by multitudes. But do the movies give guides of conduct to those whose changed circumstances land them in new environments? Do they even express adequately the feelings of those who make such a change?

Their failure to interpret life is due to the fact that they are not—in the largest sense of the term—"literature." Their psychology is not that of an Ibsen, a Shakespeare, a Thackeray, or even a Molière. Distorted as their characters seem to be at times, even Ben Jonson and Charles Dickens offer a helpful criticism of life; with all their exaggerations and "humors" their characters live, and act in obedience to human motives. But the movies rarely show such characters: even when standard novels are turned into screen-dramas, the emphasis is (perhaps naturally) put on what the characters do rather than on what they are, and the level of art is consequently lowered.

A distinguished psychologist recently recounted the amusement of himself and his colleagues some years since when a student approached them with a view to further work, saying that while he had not taken any courses in psychology, he had studied the subject pretty thoroughly, and was ready to go on. They asked him what he had done, and he replied that he had read almost all of Ibsen. Nowadays such an answer would be taken more seriously; for psychologists are aware that the great literary artists have been concerned with human behavior—the cause of actions, the nature that lies behind the human. And this, after all, is the aim of psychologists.

The movie-dime-novel does not concern itself with psychology—yet. When it begins to do so, it will cease to be a menace; it is dangerous only because people apply to it the standards that have hitherto been applied to literature. It shows a life that never was on land or sea, and as long as

everyone knows that such a life never existed, no harm is done. When psychology is added to the dime-novel, it will cease to be one; when it is added to the movie, (and the technique of the movie does not require action divorced from psychology), a higher art will develop. Cleverness of repartee, the charms of dialogue in high comedy, will always be more at home in the spoken drama, on the "legitimate" stage; but character and plot can be developed legitimately in the moving picture.

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Not all true stories end happily, and not all plots based on life are going to please the people who want good rewarded and evil punished. I do not mean that we must have either disagreeable or unreal stories in movie or magazine; there is a great deal of pleasant life which "realists" can paint, without being open to the charge of being romanticists. Possibly some pioneer will be bold enough to try the "unhappy ending" in the movies some day, and will find that there are people who appreciate a work of art which is not an anodyne. "movie" mentality is a reproach now, there is no reason why it should be in ten years; and one would welcome the day when the movie faces life squarely—as any great artist faces it. If this day does not dawn, the movies will be as doubtful a blessing as the dime-novel has proved to be. It is a fortunate thing that the art which does not interpret life is ephemeral, and that the art which does help us understand life—life as it is, not as we would have it-is art which lasts.

BOOK REVIEWS

As God Made Them. Portraits of some Nineteenth Century Americans. By Gamaliel Bradford. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1929. 294 pp.

The title of Mr. Bradford's most recent volume—As God Made Them—raises a nice problem in historical interpretation. It is obviously the purpose of this title to convey the impression that here certain characters are presented in all their humanness—their foibles and follies. their charms and their idiosyncrasies-presented for what they are, without apology or justification, without detraction or eulogy. We are to see them not through the glasses of some prejudiced observer, but-"As God Made Them." Yet of all historical writing biography is the most subjective, and of all forms of biography the character portrait. the soul portrait that we associate with Mr. Bradford, is the most intimate, the least objective. From those brilliant studies in Confederate Portraits and Union Portraits to the later American Portraits and Damaged Souls, we have watched the actors in the varied drama of American history not as "God Made Them," but as Mr. Bradford interpreted them. It is natural for us to ask, has Mr. Bradford here abdicated his position as stage manager and director of this drama?

The answer must be a decided negative. The characters here presented—Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, Edwin Booth, Francis James Child, and Asa Gray—are depicted in the familiar Bradford manner. And that manner is neither scientific nor objective, though we do not suggest that Mr. Bradford cannot be both scientific and objective when he sees fit. That manner is, on the contrary, peculiarly personal and subjective.

Mr. Bradford is somewhat more successful,—and decidedly more original—in dealing with the scholar and the scientist than with politicians and public men. For although the character of an Edwin Booth, an Asa Gray or a Francis Child is in all probability more complex and more sensitive than that of a Clay or a Calhoun, the task of presentation is not nearly so difficult nor so delicate. For it is largely the external and non-personal factors that determine our interpretation of the place of any public man in history, and these, in the case of Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Greeley, are enormously complex. The attempt to characterize these men in a few lines, with a few deft touches, and a sprinkling of epigrams, is almost foredoomed to failure whether practiced by a veteran biographer like Mr. Bradford, a brilliant stylist like Philip Guedalla, or a journalist like Don Seitz. It scarcely needs to be

said that our understanding of and presentation of the character of a Clay or a Webster depends necessarily on our interpretation of the economic and social and political problems with which they dealt. Despite the pious purpose to present his actors "As God Made Them," Mr. Bradford's view depends upon his point of view.

That point of view is, on the whole, conservative and orthodox. We have only to compare Mr. Bradford's interpretation of the great political trinity with that of the late lamented V. L. Parrington, to see what a difference a liberal and unorthodox point of view makes. An appreciation of a social liberal like Horace Greeley, for example, is scarcely to be expected from an observer who records:

The only possible way of fundamentally altering our system is through a Constitutional Convention, and a Constitutional Convention would be hell: every radical fanatic in the world would be there, with a crazy scheme in one pocket and a bomb in the other.

Though Mr. Bradford is not unsuccessful in recreating for us something of the personality of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Greeley, the careful student must look elsewhere for any understanding of the forces that motivated, and the prejudices and ideas that influenced, these men.

The portraits of Asa Gray, Edwin Booth, and Francis Child are in a happier vein. The botanist who welcomed Darwinism, the actor who interpreted and for half a century personified Hamlet, the scholar who edited the old English ballads, are here presented with a fine appreciation of their contributions to our cultural heritage and a sensitiveness to their charm and intellectual integrity which lead the reader to conclude that in interpreting men of learning and of letters, the hand of the potter shakes less than in creating politicians.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

New York University.

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MEMORIES AND REFLECTIONS 1852-1927. By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. K. B. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928. 2 vols. xix, 337; v, 326 pp.

This is the book of an old man who lived a full life and disciplined himself in the course of it to practice the reticence and self-restraint necessary for a successful politician and the best type of English gentleman. It contains no revelations of the sort which delight the conventional historians. If there were such things to reveal, the author would not have acted in character had he opened them to the public. He writes as one who sits down in the evening after the day's work is done to recount personal experiences for the delectation of a circle of friends. He feels it unprofitable to dwell on the weight of the burdens borne in

the heat of the day or the places they galled. He remembers many pleasant incidents with a few less so, not very important, perhaps, but interesting because of the part taken in them by the man who tells the story. The second volume contains a few snatches of letters he wrote in the critical times of the war and quotations from notes he then kept. Characteristically, the most controversial incident in the author's life is passed over. The space that might have been occupied by a defence is given to narratives by a friend and two friendly opponents: the Lords Crewe, Lansdowne, and Robert Cecil.

Lord Oxford wrote a better book, perhaps a more useful book, in that he felt no compulsion to set history straight. The span of his life (1852-1927) compassed a memorable time in the history of his country. After 1886, when he first entered Parliament, his career was more than an incidental part of this history. He was Prime Minister for a longer continuous period that any Englishman in a century. His career illustrates admirably the political methods of the governing classes in England in the last phase of Victoria and in the reigns of her son and grandson. Among the best chapters in the book are the earlier ones in the first volume, in which the author recounts the steps by which he climbed to importance. Here, as elsewhere, what he reveals is more important than what he tells. One who aspires to delve beneath the surface in British politics cannot do better than bring to these chapters the inquiry: how did this son of a Yorkshire nonconformist become an indispensable man in the government of his country and retain through a stormy life the esteem of all who knew him, both friends and foes?

Lord Oxford did not live to complete his manuscript and never saw this book in print. He does not repeat any of the stories contained in his earlier volumes, Fifty Years of Parliament and The Genesis of the War. This is in some respects a better book than they, because it deals with less controversial matter in which the author is at ease and says more between the lines than he is always aware of. These merits of the book may very well seem defects to those accustomed to look to the author for partisan leadership. The various chapters are not from the pen of a militant leader. They were written by one who had fought his fight and was about to finish his course confident that he had kept the faith.

W. T. LAPRADE.

JOHN MITCHELL, MINER. Labor's Bargain with the Gilded Age. By Elsie Glück. New York: The John Day Company, 1929. xvi, 270 pp.

This is a sympathetic and revealing picture of a great labor leader, and also a window to an important period in the history of the Amer-

ican labor movement. Miss Glück has caught all sides of Mitchell's character, and she has understood his problems, his policies, and the contentions of those about him. She has given renewed proof that biography may afford unique insight into history. More books of this sort will be welcome in the field of labor relations. Analysis alone is apt to be dull, and the subject matter of analysis, shorn of personalities, often seems thin and trivial. But when a major figure strides through the pages, events are lit with meaning.

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John Mitchell was born at Braidwood, Illinois, in 1870. His father, a Scotch-Irish miner, died when John was six. His mother, of whom nothing is known but her name-Martha Halley-died when he was an infant. The boy went to work in the mines at Braidwood as a trapper when he was twelve, soon became a helper, left Illinois for the gold fields of the West, and returned to Illinois when eighteen, as penniless as when he went away. In 1890 he joined the newly formed United Mine Workers, four years later became secretary-treasurer of the subdistrict organization, and in three years was promoted to membership on the State Executive Board. In this year, 1897, he had organizing experience in the first successful strike of the union. He became vicepresident the next year, and took part in making the first national agreement between employers and employes in any great American industry. Mitchell was elected president in 1899, after the retirement of Michael Ratchford.

From this time forth until his retirement in 1908 he moulded and practiced policies which have entered into the tradition of the conservative majority in the American labor movement. He believed that unionization meant stabilization, that agreements, even when disadvantageous, must be kept. He was an opportunist, plugging away at the problem of the workers' betterment, and made no excursions into the wider fields of social reform. He was reasonable, but firm. When his methods were under attack from Tom Lewis, in the 1907 convention, he declared: "They say I am conservative. . . . I am not conservative. I am impatient and restless for advancement. There is not a man in this country who spends more sleepless nights, worrying and fretting because we do not go forward with more rapidity. It is true that I am temperate in my statements. . . . I am trying as best I can to promote a feeling of friendly business relations between the employers and ourselves; but my . . . efforts to promote friendly . . . business relations do not detract . . . from my impatient desire to see the mine workers . . . among the best paid, the most humanely employed, of all the workers of this land."

He differed in disposition and method from other major figures in the labor movement. He was "of middle height or less, dark, a quiet speaker, . . . sentimental, dramatic in a somber way." He possessed the hard sense of Gompers, the sympathy of Debs, the determination of Haywood. He came to rule the strongest union in the country, and that most composed of the elements which went into America's melting pot; yet he was modest, self-questioning, introspective. When one seeks to account for his power over a rough and tumble lot, the respect in which Roosevelt held him, the loyalty of his intimate group, it is his thoughtfulness, his sincerity, his capacity for affection which come to mind.

He was a strange confusion of warrior, poet, philosopher, even priest. In the heyday of America's industrial revolution he played a useful and brilliant part, but he was too finely made not to be worn out in the process while still young. His life really ended when he was thirty-eight, when he retired from the presidency of the mine workers, though after that he was a prominent official of the National Civic Federation, and accumulated a fortune in the stock market.

Miss Glück's book not only shows a knowledge of the American labor movement; it exhibits also her narrative sense, her swift propulsion of the story forward, which make for pleasant reading.

BROADUS MITCHELL.

Johns Hopkins University.

CHARLOTTE CORDAY AND CERTAIN MEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TORMENT. By Marie Cher. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929. 238 pp.

A hasty search by the reviewer has failed to reveal anything concerning the author of this book further than that her real name is Scherr, which has been Gallicized into the pseudonym Cher. Though the titlepage does not say so, we evidently have before us adaptations from French authors.

In a prefatory note the author acknowledges her indebtedness to Charles Vatel, Eugène Defrance, G. Lenôtre, Pierre Gaxotte, Louis Madelin, Georges Cain and others, who are readily recognized as no bad authorities. But it is evident that her purpose is not to write history as they write it. She would humanize it, vivify it, even dramatize it, and thereby attract readers! The result is not a systematic treatment of any period, nor yet a series of biographies. It is something which can be only classified as "neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring."

On opening the book the reader is confronted with the portrait of Charlotte Corday painted from life by Jean-Jacques Hauer in the prison of the Conciergerie. The first pages give an account of this young girl living in her quiet home at Caen and reading Plutarch, Rousseau and Voltaire. Then the early events of the Revolution are mentioned so briefly that the uninitiated reader would be hard put to it to understand what it was all about. However, there begin to emerge from the jumble, albeit but dimly at first, the personalities of Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Desmoulins, and others. It is soon evident that Danton is going to be the rough-hewn hero of the play and Robespierre the villain. And so it turns out to be.

The real "human interest stuff" begins with the proscription of the Girondins in June, 1793. Eighteen of these unfortunates fled to Normandy with the intention of "raising the North." Seeing them and hearing them talk, Charlotte Corday was inspired to slay Marat. The description of her journey to Paris, the assassination, the trial and execution is given in great detail and makes the heart of the reader throb. With similar emotion we follow the fleeing Girondins—Barbaroux, Pétion, Buzot, Guadet, Salle, and Louvet—until they all, except Louvet, die miserably, dragging with them to destruction the few relatives and friends who had dared to give aid and comfort. The execution of the Dantonists; the 9th and 10th Thermidor, and the execution of Robespierre: "For an instant of horror his face is seen, shining with blood, the mouth wide open, the broken jaw hanging. But the knife is merciful in its swiftness." With Robespierre's scream the book appropriately ends.

To people who read only for pleasure and to high school students who find history "as dry as dust," the reviewer heartily recommends this book. With the possible exception of the first fifty pages, it is readable and intensely interesting, and the information given is trustworthy enough. But the trained historian regrets to see history distorted by over-emphasis of the bloody, the terrible, and the tragical.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

University of North Carolina.

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CAUSES AND THEIR CHAMPIONS. By M. A. De Wolfe Howe. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1926. x, 331 pp.

> One man with a dream, at pleasure Shall go forth and conquer a crown And three, with a new song's measure Can trample a kingdom down.

The nineteenth century was, par excellence, a century of reform,—of, to borrow O'Shaughnessy's happy phrase, "world-seekers, and world-forsakers." Of the early years of the century, wrote John Morley, it

was "a day of ideals in every camp. The general restlessness was intense among reflecting conservatives as well as among reflecting liberals.

... A great wave of humanity, a great wave of social sentiment ... poured itself among all who had the faculty for large and disinterested thinking." It was, in America, the period of the antislavery crusade, of the beginnings of the women-rights movement, of the "theological thaw," of agitation for international organization and the outlawry of war, of reform in public education, reform in the penal code and prison conditions, and of a host of Utopian experiments. As the century progressed, the reform movements became more political and economic rather than social: the Civil Service Reform, reform in municipal politics, the single tax movement, the organization of labor, Socialism, were typical.

The entire century was characterized by an extraordinary sense of responsibility of man to man, and extraordinary self-consciousness. The fundamental institutions of the state, or the church, of property, of the family, were challenged and criticized with a boldness that would seem incredible today. As Emerson put it in his delightful New England Reformers, "There was a keener scrutiny of institutions and domestic life than any we had known, and there was sincere protesting against existing evils. . . . A restless, prying, conscientious criticism broke out in unexpected quarters. Who gave me the money with which I bought my coat? Why should the professional labor and that of the counting-house be paid so disproportionately to the labor of the porter and the wood-saw-yer? Am I not a too protected person? Is there not a wide disparity between the lot of men and the lot of thee, my poor brother, my poor sister?"

It is this humanitarianism movement that forms the subject of Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe's Causes and Their Champions,—a series of studies in American idealism. The veteran biographer and litterateur is here concerned with tracing the history and leadership of some typical reform movements of the century: the Red Cross, Temperance, Religious Toleration, the Labor Movement, Woman Suffrage, Negro Advancement, and World Peace. A chapter somewhat difficult to fit into the general scheme is one on "New Uses of Great Wealth," with the Rockefellers as exhibit A. Mr. De Wolfe Howe's approach to these movements is the biographical one, and we have pleasant, though scarcely penetrating or critical, sketches of Clara Barton, Frances Willard, Phillips Brooks, Samuel Gompers, Susan B. Anthony, Booker T. Washington, and Woodrow Wilson. The antislavery movement and its flaming leader, Garrison, is omitted, Mr. De Wolfe Howe says, as a

res adjudicata, but the omissions of essays on the incomparable Dorothea Dix and her great work of humanity, and on Horace Mann and his contribution to American democracy, are regrettable.

Mr. De Wolfe Howe's sympathy with both causes and champions is obvious, and though it is something of a relief to turn to biographical essays that are not inspired by a spirit of jaundiced cynicism or marred by uncritical disparagement, a more impartial and dispassionate attitude would have added something to the value of the essays. The author is particularly happy in his delineation of Samuel Gompers, Booker T. Washington, and Phillips Brooks; if some of the other characters do not emerge as pleasant or likeable personalities, it is not entirely the fault of their friendly interpreter.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

New York University.

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PROTESTANTISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Archer B. Bass. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929. xii, 364 pp.

This book is a useful compilation of facts and figures on the subject of Protestant denominationalism and efforts at interdenominational union in the United States. The title is somewhat too broad for the contents. The author himself states: "This book registers the profound conviction of its author that a closer Interdenominational Coöperation is the characteristic phase of present-day Protestantism in the United States, and supplies the foundation on which rests the hope of its future success." The volume might well have borne a more closely defined title.

The first part of the work discusses the subject of "Denominationalism in the United States: its origin and development." In this part it is shown that the main outlines of denominationalism were drawn in Europe and that the major American bodies received their distinctive marks before coming to this country. It is also shown that a large number of sects have sprung up in the United States. Of this group those of major importance developed as a result of the political, social, and economic forces attendant on the Civil War.

Part II discusses "Interdenominationalism in the United States: its problem and progress." Here are set forth examples of coöperation in home and foreign missions and various forms of social work. The author discusses the various types of local congregational unions and speaks well of the possibilities in certain of these types.

A good deal of the material in this section was gathered through the use of questionnaires circulated around 1918. It appears that the skeleton of the present volume was a doctor's thesis prepared by the author

at that time, which has recently been revised. The material based on these questionnaires is not particularly impressive, and in one important chapter quotation throughout is from an official annual report dated 1917.

The book is a good handbook of information on the subject of interdenominational coöperation.

JAMES CANNON III.

THE FALL OF THE PLANTER CLASS IN THE BRITISH CARIBBEAN, 1763-1833. By Lowell Joseph Ragatz, Ph.D. New York and London: The Century Company, 1929. xiv, 520 pp.

This book is ample evidence of the industry and erudition of its author. His thesis—that the abolition of slavery was only the final blow that completed the destruction of the prosperity of the planter class, completing work largely done by the dislocation of trade at the American Revolution and the interruption of the labor supply due to the suppression of the slave trade—is proved beyond question. This point, indeed, might have been sufficiently made with less evidence than is cited and it might have been stated more briefly.

In fact, the author undertakes to do more than his title reveals. What he says on subjects outside of the province of his title makes his book long and tedious and constitutes its chief weakness. One difficulty arises from the period to which he limits his work. Professor Frank W. Pitman concluded his Development of the British West Indies with 1763, so Dr. Ragatz begins at that point. The result is that neither writer tells the story of the planters at the zenith of their power in England nor appreciates the part they played in the controversies incidental to the American Revolution. For a generation or two about the middle of the eighteenth century, the West India men were the most influential commercial group in British politics. Before the end of the century, the East India group was more powerful. By confining himself strictly to the West Indies, Dr. Ragatz misses the point of this change, a significant item, because the West India men obtained their wealth and power and lost it largely because of political action in England.

A study of politics without reference to economic facts seldom goes to the roots of a question; a study of economic data without a clear understanding of political factors which conditioned them is even less illuminating. This is especially true when political and economic facts are as intimately related as was the case in the British West Indies. The abolition of the slave trade and of slavery in the West Indies were due to measures of British politicians. Dr. Ragatz undertakes to de-

scribe those measures without giving much attention to the politicians responsible for them, though he devotes considerable space to agitators on the subject and their controversial literature. Consequently, the story of these achievements still needs to be told. The telling of it will require a search much further than the records of England's relations with the West Indies and the pamphlets for and against slavery.

Dr. Ragatz begins with the assumption that the "wealth of the original West India colonies had no rational basis." Similar reasoning might condemn as irrational the prosperity of the United States in as far as it rests upon a monopoly of the home market enforced by political action. In conclusion, he congratulates Antigua for having won the "proud distinction of being the first British colony" to abolish slavery. These statements and others reveal a personal disapproval of the factors that contributed to the success of the West India plantations, and so tend to disqualify the writer for the sympathetic understanding which ought to characterize his work. Again, Dr. Ragatz finds it "singular" that the "two features of the slave régime most shocking to British susceptibilities were the desecration of the Sabbath . . . and the lack of marriage among the Negroes." But this singularity, familiar enough to one who has delved in the conventional emotions of the British people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, did not tempt him to further analysis of the appeals made in the movement for abolition. Finally, though the author may not be to blame for it, the map on the end paper would better illustrate the book if it had been drawn with reference to conditions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries instead of the twentieth.

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ere leW. T. LAPRADE.

ENGLISH COMEDY. By Ashley H. Thorndike. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929. vi, 635 pp.

THOMAS SHADWELL: HIS LIFE AND COMEDIES. By Albert S. Borgman. New York: The New York University Press, 1928.

ENGLISH COMIC DRAMA, 1700-1750. By F. W. Bateson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929. 158 pp.

"The project of examining all the efforts of one nation during four centuries to provide similar kinds of theatrical amusement and of literary refreshment" is certainly, as Professor Thorndike says, alluring, and it is also in a sense foredoomed. The survey is bound to be enlightening in retrospect, but in the process it produces, in spite of the historian's best effort, the effect of a series rather than a unit. The difficulty is no doubt inevitable and Professor Thorndike has done what

is possible to escape it. Where coherence and continuity exist he has found them and made them clear. Nowhere, for example, has the relation between Elizabethan and Restoration comedy been so well put. One difficulty, on the other hand, has not been so successfully met, namely, that of plot-summaries. Sometimes, as in that of the Secunda Pastorum, the summary is simple and intelligible; at other times, as in Middleton and Rowley's The Spanish Gipsy, the résumé will be of little help to any reader; and, to take an extreme case, the summary of Boucicault's London Assurance will hardly serve to recall the story to one who has already read the play. Without question, the best method is by allusion and analysis—well illustrated in the discussion of Shirley's Hyde Park,—but this is hardly possible if a great number of second and third rate plays are to be considered in detail.

The whole period of four centuries Professor Thorndike divides into two nearly equal parts, the second beginning with the Restoration. The introductory chapter of Definitions reviews some of the theories of comedy, but reaches no definite conclusion or harmony, and suffers from lack of reference to actual comedies which follow in the historical pageant,-in a word, does not try to test theories by examples. Part I covers familiar and well-trodden ground. Part II, largely a barren territory after 1700, contains newer material, but is necessarily somewhat trying to read because it includes so many trivial comedies of merely historical significance. In Part I Shakespeare has two chapters, Jonson one, Beaumont and Fletcher one, all quite properly; in Part II it is noticeable that W. S. Gilbert alone has a chapter to himself, and one wonders if this is altogether just. Yet when all the strictures are made and exceptions taken-and, again, one regrets to find Macaulay's attitude on the "obscenity" of Restoration comedy repeated, especially after the immoralities of the Elizabethans are passed with little comment-Professor Thorndike's general survey is an achievement of the first value, and though the trees sometimes obscure the forest the critical contributions are full enough and admirably balanced.

Everyone introduces Shadwell with Dryden's famous epigram. Professor Thorndike is no exception; Professor Borgman uses it twice, in his Preface and in Chapter I. Against Dryden's severe judgment must be set the praise of Shadwell's friends, notably Rochester's reported opinion that if he "had burnt all he wrote, and printed all he spoke, he would have had more Wit and Humour than any other Poet." Of course the truth lies midway between. Shadwell was something better than a theatrical journeyman, yet the divine spirit rarely came upon him; his best plays are better than competent, but they are seldom in-

spired. Dr. Borgman's monograph is an improved doctoral dissertation, rather formal in structure and mechanical in treatment. Part I contains, in a little more than a hundred pages, an outline of Shadwell's life and work, based upon original research, and concludes with a chapter on his Reputation. Part II devotes a chapter to each of the thirteen comedies (omitting plays of which Shadwell was only part author) following the formula: stage history, plot, and literary relationships, with occasionally a critical observation. There is some overlapping between the two parts.

Mr. Bateson's little volume is, as he would say, a pendant to Mr. Dobrée's Restoration Comedy, and like all sequels is a bit disappointing. The method is simple: chapters on Cibber, Steele, Mrs. Centlivre, Gay, Carey, and Fielding, each with a short critical introduction, an account of the principal plays, and a critical conclusion. The introductory chapter is likewise tripartite: a generalization on the growing social consciousness of the eighteenth century, a brief statement on Sentimentalism, and a corrective note on eighteenth-century humanitarianism, of which Sentimentalism "was an exaggeration, or a distortion." The conclusion of all assays the decline of English comedy after 1700, and attributes it partly to the change of audience (the "invasion of the theatre by the city"), with the stage's concomitant loss of prestige among serious authors, but chiefly (following Archer) to the strangling effect of the old technique on the tentative genuine realism of the new age. Yet this can only mean that, in Arnold's terms, though the moment was there perhaps, or approaching, the man was lacking, the man who could forge a new technique. Fielding was the sole candidate, and he abandoned the stage in his thirties, apparently because he had discovered, via Richardson, a larger opportunity for the vis comica and one more obviously suited to the moment. . . . Thus one may annotate Mr. Bateson's summary. Of a short work intended to be critical rather than historical, and suggestive rather than critical, too much cannot be expected. And if the sequel falls short of the first part (Mr. Dobrée's), it is mainly because the matter is deficient. Mr. Bateson has done what he could for his protagonists. He has kept the proportions, he has not exaggerated their importance, and he has not tried to compensate for his meagre material by showy writing. He has given his subject a just and fitting treatment.

PAULL F. BAUM.

COLLEGE LIFE IN THE OLD SOUTH. By E. Werton Coulter. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. ix, 381.

This little volume unfolds a great panorama—its theme being the processes by which an institution of learning was adjusted to the changing fabric of Southern society from the end of the eighteenth century to the close of reconstruction. The story is full of color and appeal to the imagination. The first of the American state universities to be chartered, and the second to open its doors, the University of Georgia in its very inception reflected the liberal thought of the revolutionary period. Since in free governments "civil order should be the result of choice and not necessity, and the good wishes of the people become the law of the land; their public prosperity, and even existence, very much depends upon suitably forming the minds and morals of their citizens," therefore religion and morality should be encouraged, and the youth should be "moulded to the love of virtue and good order." Hence the University was organized to include every public educational institution in the state and to encourage the cause of literature.

Who were the progenitors of this ideal? Not native Georgians. hardly native Southerners, rather a group of Connecticut men from Yale, particularly Abraham Baldwin. Georgia and also the Lower South were a frontier region, filling up with prospectors, some prospecting for material wealth, others prospecting in the realm of intellectual endeavor. Soon a new town was laid out in the wilderness as a seat of the new venture in education—the town of Athens. The process of the institution's adjustment to Georgia's society is really a cross-section of southern life. The university idea was too advanced for the times, and the ante-bellum university was really an arts college-Franklin College. Whence came its patronage? Overwhelmingly from the planter class rather than the non-slave owners. What was the great obstacle in building up a favored place in public opinion? The churches, because Methodist and Baptist clergymen were jealous of the influence of Presbyterians in Franklin College. What, also, was the outstanding intellectual problem of the institution? The integration of scientific thought. Some eminent scientists aroused such fundamentalist opposition that they left the institution. Thus all the major currents of ante-bellum society in Georgia floated through Franklin College; likewise all the currents of post-bellum reconstruction, for bands of Negroes marched to the campus demanding educational privileges, and a military governor took away the institution's income from the state. Yet significant for a new day was the adoption of the elective system, which supplanted the old rigid curriculum of ante-bellum days, based on the classics and mathematics.

Professor Coulter's work is an excellent example of the possibilities of research in higher education, for trustees' minutes, college catalogues, and other publications not only reveal the life of an institution, but also its relation to the social structure surrounding it.

WM. K. BOYD.

THE CULT OF BEAUTY IN CHARLES BAUDELAIRE. By S. A. Rhodes, Ph.D. New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929. 2 vols. xxi, 617 pp.

In France the present-day tendency to reappraise the literary figures of the nineteenth century in terms of an emerging twentieth century consciousness is resulting in the profounder appreciation of Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal, and Baudelaire; in short, of the spiritual forbears of the greatest of the moderns, Marcel Proust. The study which Mr. Rhodes devotes to Baudelaire, while proceeding from the aesthetic point of view in its interpretation of the poet as obsessed by a cult—an ideal of beauty so absolute and uncompromising as to make any happy adjustment to life impossible, with consequent profit to his creative faculty—is of particular interest in its presentation of Baudelaire as "the poet of two centuries: of his own, the nineteenth, which he interprets, and of the twentieth, which has adopted him as its own, for his humanity extends beyond the limits of a single age." Baudelaire's ideal of modernism is attributed to the influence of Andre Chénier, Mme. de Staël, Stendhal, Vigny, and Sainte-Beuve.

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Mr. Rhodes, in sympathy with an intelligent, if still somewhat unorthodox, criticism in France, wades into the nineteenth century with cudgels, slaying ghosts that have haunted the reputation of Baudelaire,—for example, that he was a decadent and a poet of decadence, that Poe gave him his forme and his fond,—rapping venerable reputations (particularly those of Lamartine and Hugo), and making room for the expanding glory of the author of Les Fleurs du Mal. In one of the most ably written chapters of the study, "Mutation in Romantic Aesthetics," Mr. Rhodes champions and develops the claim made for Baudelaire that he was the most influential factor determining the course of Romanticism, and he quotes with approval the assertion of M. Jean Royère that "the inspiration and the substance of all modern poetry emanates from Baudelaire's conception of aesthetics, which interrupted and modified the Romantic conception."

The tone employed by Mr. Rhodes is unfortunately at times too worshipful, with too much effort at a glorification of Baudelaire; constant harping on the "spirituality" of the poet, and his search for "the perfect harmony between matter and spirit," grows monotonous. The book would have profited much by greater condensation and conciseness. There are a number of typographical errors, usually in the French quotations. The lack of an index is also to be deplored; there is, however, an invaluable bibliography, both of the works by Baudelaire and of those devoted to him.

F. A. BRIDGERS.

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